

# THE MONTH

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## *The Clergy and Social Work.*

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### II.

IN THE MONTH for September we considered some of the arguments which are commonly employed in favour of social work on the part of the clergy. Limiting our survey to the Continent, we saw that the Bishops are warmly encouraging such work, and that the clergy are urged to take part in it in order that they may increase their spiritual influence among the people and at the same time fulfil a duty of Christian charity.

But what, as a matter of fact, are the continental clergy doing in the way of social work? How do they, in practice, tackle the problem, and with what effect? Have the results really been worth all the trouble? Has the priestly spirit suffered in the process, or has it, on the contrary, gained in intensity? Does such work on the part of the clergy make their parishioners better Christians, or does it rather diminish their esteem of the supernatural by focussing their attention on material improvement? Has the priest mended matters by coming out of the sacristy, or would it have been better if he had stopped there?

Anything like a complete account of the social work of the clergy, even in a single country, could not be compressed within a magazine article. But it may be useful to select a few typical instances of such work from various quarters. It is not for a moment suggested that precisely similar work could be undertaken by priests in this country. In most cases, not only are our clergy already overburdened with parochial duties, but the economic and social circumstances abroad are so different to our own, that foreign methods cannot be imported as they stand. Nevertheless, the study of what is actually being done with episcopal approbation abroad, may suggest methods of fostering the Christian spirit among the people at home. It may let us see how, with social changes, the priest may find fresh methods of

bringing to bear upon society the beneficent influence of Catholic principles.

We may begin with France, for it is there that the interest of the clergy in social work has produced the most voluminous literature, and is best known to English readers. The political events of the last few years have thrown the French clergy upon their own resources and made them look about for methods of recovering that influence with the working classes which they had to a large extent lost. The rupture of the Concordat by the French Government, though itself a flagrant act of injustice involving much hardship to the clergy, nevertheless offered a splendid opportunity for creating a real solidarity among the Catholics of France. As long as the clergy were public functionaries their influence with the people was restricted. Now they are given full scope for initiative, and are brought into closer relations with their flocks. True, the Government is quite aware of this result of the Concordat, and is making determined efforts to counteract the growing social influence of the clergy. But there are grounds for hoping that the latter may in time regain the confidence of the working classes to an extent which will counteract the designs of the Government in their regard. Much quiet work is being done, of which we may hope to see the fruits in years to come. French priests on country missions, for example, in the midst of their struggles with poverty, are remembering the words of the Abbé Lemire :

Consolez-vous vite de n'être plus le dernier des fonctionnaires en devenant le premier des paysans !

Many of our readers will be familiar with the charming series of books by Yves le Querdec (M. Georges Fonsegrive), the first and best known of which is entitled *Lettres d'un Curé de Campagne*. They will remember the Curé's description of his appointment to the parish of St. Julien, in which he hopes to lead a peaceful life of quiet and consoling ministration to his flock, recreating himself in his library and garden and entertaining his fellow-priests from neighbouring parishes. But he reckons without his flock ! The Bishop, indeed, warns him that to be a priest is to deny oneself and to be at the service of others. But it is not until he arrives at his parish that he realizes to what an extent he must empty himself for others and renounce his idyllic expectations. Some of the women come to church, but the men are otherwise occupied. The Curé has

to solve the problem of getting into touch with his parishioners. He is a missionary among aliens. He appreciates the value of some knowledge of husbandry, hygiene, medicine, and other subjects outside the seminary course. He sets to work to study them, and at last ventures on their application. He initiates various social works which make him indispensable and thaw all prejudice. He lures the Marquis from his *château* to take part in social reform. By degrees the church re-fills. The Curé's social authority develops into spiritual influence.

Much has happened in France since this delightful novel first appeared. It was originally regarded by some as quixotic. Others thought it dangerous. It has proved to be prophetic. It has been followed by a host of volumes describing very similar adventures on the part of country vicars who have re-Christianized whole parishes after getting into touch with the people by means of social work. Only these volumes are no longer fiction, but the record of actual fact. Their chief difference from M. le Querdec's book is that they sound vastly more improbable.

As a specimen we may turn to M. Max Turmann's book, *Activités Sociales* (Lecoffre, 1906), and briefly summarize some of its pages.

The Abbé Gruson, parish priest of Fourmies, comes to the wise conclusion that one cannot tell whether a peasant is well off by merely ascertaining the amount of his wages. The cost of living has also to be taken into account. This is brought home to the good Abbé by a conversation with a working-man from Hautmont.

This man explained that he had previously been working at a place called Locquignol, in the forest of Mormal, where he earned only thirty sous a day. This sounds deplorable; but on being cross-examined by the priest he admitted that he had found lodging cheap at Locquignol, grown his own vegetables and grain, gathered his fuel in the forest; he even owned to fowls and hinted at a cow. But the thirty sous a day had rankled, and he had quitted the forest. Now he was getting 4 fr. 50 a day, but had to buy everything—fuel, vegetables, and the rest. He was convinced that he had bettered his position.

But the Abbé disillusioned him.

"So you have left Locquignol because you only earned thirty sous a day there, though you were provided with bread, vegetables, some of your meat, your eggs, milk, butter and fuel. You have come to

Hautmont to earn 4 fr. 50, and have to buy everything, even a leek for your soup. Tell me how much of your 4 fr. 50 is left when you have paid for everything that you did not have to buy at Locquignol?"

"Not very much."

"And if you fall ill, if you lose your employment, you will be absolutely destitute. In the country, at all events, if you fell ill for a few days, your land, your animals, and the forest would continue to produce for you."

"That's true, is that! Maybe I've done a silly thing. I'll see if I can't get back to Locquignol."

"I think, my friend, that you couldn't do better."

However, since it was clearly impossible to send all townspeople back into the country, the Abbé set himself to consider how far the peculiar advantages of country life might be brought within reach of an industrial population. In his own parish of Fourmies he found an opportunity for experiment. On the one hand, many of his parishioners found it extremely hard to make both ends meet, and were quite incapable of tiding over a few days of unemployment: on the other, well, there was some excellent land just outside the town. The Curé bought a couple of acres cheap, and divided it the same day into twenty-eight lots. The next event may be told in his own words:

Calling a labourer whom I knew, I said to him:

"No doubt there are in your neighbourhood working-men who would like to have a little garden for nothing?"

"Certainly there are!"

"Well, pick out twenty-eight of them, preferably those who have large families, and bring them to me to-morrow."

The next day, a Sunday, at nine o'clock in the morning, twenty-eight working-men arrived at the presbytery, somewhat astonished at finding themselves in the house of the Curé, whom they scarcely knew.

Were the men practising Catholics or not? Were they Socialists or not? I did not put these questions to them, but simply said:

"My friends, I know that you find it difficult to make a living. It is my duty to help you as far as I can, and I think that a garden would be very useful to you. May I make you a present of it? The garden is at your service."

The Curé saw that the look of pleasure on the men's faces was tempered by an expression of suspicion. They evidently anticipated that conditions would be attached to the gift. They would have to go to Mass—or perhaps to vote at the Municipal

elections as the Curé told them. But the Curé's next speech made matters plain: it deserves to be quoted in full.

My friends, I am giving you this garden on one condition only, namely, that you cultivate it as well as possible for the benefit of your families. My wish is that you should have all the vegetables a workman's family needs. . . . Must you go to Mass as a condition of keeping your garden? To go to Mass on Sundays is a grave obligation for Catholics. I am your Curé; I have to remind you of your obligation whenever I get the chance. If you follow my advice you will be right; if you do not you will be wrong. But in the latter case I will not deprive you of your garden: for whether you fulfil your religious obligations or not, you will always want vegetables.

It may be said—it certainly *will* be said—that these gardens are an electioneering bribe. Be quite sure that people who talk like this completely misunderstand my intentions. In politics as in religion, I respect your liberty. So please do not speak to me again about the coming elections, and you shall hear nothing about them from me.

The ice was broken—and the men went off to dig. More gardens were purchased by degrees, and when M. Turmann wrote they numbered 450 and supplied over 2,000 people with vegetables. The Curé kept in touch with the work which, though not without its difficulties, flourished exceedingly. We need not follow their development, but we may notice two points on which the Abbé Gruson justly lays great stress.

1. It is no use giving gardens to townsfolk unless you show those townsfolk how to use them. Their one idea seems to be potatoes, and even these require some skilled attention.
2. When the men have learnt how to cultivate vegetables, their wives must be shown how to cook them. An *école ménagère* is needed if the gardens are to be a success.

Here, as in so many cases, one form of social work leads to another. The priest who establishes one point of social contact speedily acquires several more.

Much has happened at Fourmies. A number of workmen are getting more fresh air than they used to, and tuberculosis is on the decrease. They are also getting vegetables for nothing, and unemployment is shorn of some of its terrors. Finally, the Curé, while helping the parishioners to plant their vegetables, has incidentally planted himself. He has taken root among his people and won their confidence and affection. The men are

coming back to their Easter duties: and there is no evidence to show that the Curé, amid the attractions of gardening, either scamps his prayers or omits to prepare his sermons.

M. Turmann's second sketch is taken from a country parish not far from the capital. The name of the parish is not Saint-Acheul,—but that will do as well as any other. It is not always wise to draw public attention to private initiative among Catholics in France.

Some eight or ten years ago, then, our Curé arrived at his new parish, bristling with enthusiasm.

He needed all his courage. Not a man at Sunday Mass,—only a few women and children. The new arrival met with nothing but scowls or, at the best (or worst) indifference.

Clearly the people had to be approached on the side of their material interests,—the only ones they had. The Curé spent quite a long time in studying the situation, examining local needs and circumstances, observing character. Despite his enthusiasm he was determined not to make a false start. He reviewed the situation at leisure, and set himself to discover what the people wanted most, and by means of what social institution he could secure their confidence while promoting their temporal welfare.

The needful institution was discovered to be a rural bank. Our Curé forthwith mastered the workings of rural banks and prevailed upon some friends in a neighbouring town to advance the funds with which to start. He then indoctrinated half-a-dozen of the peasants with the new idea, and circulated pamphlets among the rest.

To start a rural bank and then leave it to work itself is a perfectly useless proceeding. Such a bank will only become an instrument of real social value to a district when the people are continually instructed in methods of employing it. Suggestions must constantly be made to them as to the kind of purposes for which the bank may profitably be used. The peasant, who has possibly suffered from the fangs of the usurer, is often nervous about borrowing from the bank. He needs to be encouraged and shown in detail how he may employ the loan with safety and profit. Hence the foundation of the bank was for the Curé the beginning of a close and daily intercourse with his people.

The bank was inevitably followed by a syndicate for the

purchase and distribution of manures, agricultural implements, and so forth. Here again it was the Curé who took the initiative. There were checks and disappointments, no doubt ; but the work progressed, for the Curé's enthusiasm was of the right sort. Meanwhile the men were trickling back to the church.

The next move was a series of Thursday evening talks to young peasants (their ages ran from fourteen to twenty-seven) at the presbytery ; not, as might have been expected, on Freemasonry or Darwinism, but on agricultural questions, experiments in manure, rural institutions in Germany or Belgium. The Curé read them extracts bearing on these matters from magazines and newspapers, carefully collected for the purpose during the week. And here note his wisdom. He would not allow the young men to be mere listeners. They must work up a subject for themselves. He selected for them what may certainly be called a "live" subject,—to wit, the Insurance of Live Stock. He set them to work, lending them books and pamphlets, and solving their difficulties. When the subject had been fairly thrashed out, all the farmers in the district were invited to a public conference, in which the young men set forth the advantages and described the methods of Live Stock Insurance. The elders smiled, and brought forward what they considered to be crushing objections. But the young men, with the subject at their fingers' ends, disconcerted their worthy parents by solving all difficulties. Live Stock Insurance is now in general favour at Saint-Acheul.

The next design of the Curé was the multiplication of peasant proprietors. Systematic thrift and the assistance of the bank ultimately brought the coveted *lopin de terre* within reach of quite a number of agricultural labourers. The results were precisely those enumerated by Pope Leo XIII. in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* :

If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the consequence will be that the gulf between vast wealth and sheer poverty will be bridged over, and the respective classes will be brought nearer to one another. A further consequence will result in the greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which belongs to them ; nay, they learn to love the very soil that yields, in response to the labour of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of good things for themselves and those that are dear to



them. That such a spirit of willing labour would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community is self-evident. And a third advantage would spring from this: men would cling to the country in which they were born; for no one would exchange his country for a foreign land if his own afforded him the means of living a decent and happy life.

A fourth result, not here mentioned by the Pope, was that the peasants of Saint-Acheul discovered that the Sunday sermons of their Curé were better worth listening to than they had previously supposed. And here we may leave Saint-Acheul and its enthusiastic pastor.

Another example, this time from the east of France. Here the Curé was considerably worried by the problem of rural depopulation. What made him particularly unhappy was the fact that the young girls of seventeen or eighteen generally left their families and went off to "better their condition" in the towns. Either they never returned at all, or they came back after seven or eight years in the rôle of prodigal daughters,—without the repentance.

What was to be done? It was no use exhorting them to stop at home. They were driven forth by economic pressure. A local industry must be provided if they were to remain. The Curé, at his wits' end, went for his holiday to Alsace, and there discovered for the first time the existence of—machines for knitting stockings! The problem was solved.

He purchased several machines and abundance of material. He also commandeered the services of an honest Alsatian, who undertook to teach the girls of the village how to use the machines. The dining-room and study of the presbytery were promptly turned into machine-rooms. How the Curé contrived to say his Office, eat his meals, or read his newspaper, amid the incessant clicking and racket we are not told. The ordeal for the poor man must have been terrific,—for we are informed that a single harmless typist is a distracting neighbour. But in this case the nuisance, though acute, did not last long. The girls soon learnt their lesson and carried off the machines to their homes in triumph, undertaking to pay for them by degrees out of their earnings.

A glut of stockings was the speedy result, and the Curé had next to make arrangements for their purchase by the wholesale establishments, and to institute a co-operative society for their production.



The village is now quite an industrial centre, and its stockings may be recommended. The girls stop at home, knitting industriously, and fitting themselves to be excellent wives and mothers. The economic transformation of the village has been accompanied by a moral and religious regeneration no less striking. And the clatter of the knitting-machines is music to the Curé's ear.

Before leaving France, we must tell the story of the Curé of *la Vieille Loye*, in the Jura. The inhabitants numbered some six or seven hundred, and were mainly occupied in the local glass factories, where they ruined their constitutions by working night and day under iniquitous conditions. Incidentally, they were pagans, which is scarcely to be wondered at. The children were not available for catechism, and their parents had forgotten the way to the church. Their moral condition would not bear description. And M. l'Abbé Tervaux was sent to be their parish priest.

Instead of shrugging his shoulders, and saying that there was "nothing to be done," he braced himself up and told himself that there was everything to be done. The only question was where to begin. The people were all in an economic rat-trap, and the first duty was to get them out of it.

The Curé took a good look round. It may here be observed that the various French Curés who have done good work of this kind, have invariably begun by taking a good look round. Reading the rapid summaries of their success, we might imagine that they plunged in with their social panaceas as soon as they arrived in their parishes. Far from it. We may generally assume that they spent long weeks or months in prayer and investigation, anxiety, and much racking of brains. Their discouragements would fill a volume.

The Curé's look round convinced him that the people had no use for him. They regarded him as an objectionable kind of parasite. But he visited industriously, and after a year and a half, four or five of his parishioners came to regard the *soutane* with less obvious feelings of irritation. To them he broached his scheme. He pointed out that the price of groceries in the village was monstrous. It was controlled by a ring of strangers, and the people had to give security, and mortgage their little plots of land. Would they help him to start a co-operative grocery store? He knew something about it.

The store was first established at the presbytery, and began with a few pounds of sugar, coffee, and so forth. Legal objections were raised to such use being made of a presbytery, and the store had to be moved to a cottage. In spite of opposition it flourished. After a few years it found itself installed in one of the most imposing buildings in the whole district, supplying a hundred and twenty families with nearly everything they wanted, and stocked with goods to the value of 25,000 francs. After the co-operative store the Curé founded a sick club, a rural bank, a co-operative dairy and other useful institutions. The economic condition of the people has, as a result, been improved beyond recognition. And their pastor is no longer regarded as a parasite. His church, formerly half-ruined, has been repaired, and is frequented.

We may now turn to the priests of Germany, and note a few instances in which they have interested themselves to good purpose in the material wants of their people.<sup>1</sup>

Their activity in the matter is of long standing, and we can point to a number of very important social organizations which have been founded by the clergy. Take, for example, the *Bauernverein* of Trèves, the creation of the famous Father Dasbach, the founder of half-a-dozen successful Catholic newspapers, and the terror of Jewish usurers, whose iniquities he laid bare in his powerful book on the subject. His *Bauernverein*, founded in 1884, was designed to rescue the peasant from the clutches of the money-lender, and speedily secured the support of the local clergy. In a short time the *Verein* numbered 12,000 members. A series of lawsuits were instituted against the usurers with considerable success. Moreover, an agricultural bank was founded, and thousands of head of cattle were distributed among the peasants on terms that admitted of easy repayment. A Live Stock Insurance Society made the position of the proprietor still more secure.

As is well known, Raiffeisen Banks have received considerable support from the clergy in various parts of Germany. It need not be pointed out how these institutions lend themselves in a special degree, not only to the economic regeneration of country districts, but also to the increase of social solidarity and the raising of the moral standard. In particular they offer to

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, *Catholiques Allemands*, by the Abbé Kannengieser. Paris: Lethielleux.

the parish priest opportunities of intimate and friendly intercourse with those of his flock who might otherwise prove inaccessible. German parish priests are to be found among the directors or on the committee in a great number of cases. In Alsace in the course of a few years the clergy founded no less than 104 such banks, with a membership of over ten thousand.

No less striking has been the work of the German clergy for the benefit of artisans. The *Gesellenvereine* of Father Kolping, first started at Elberfeld as long ago as 1846, are now spread all over Germany and beyond it, and number 75,000 ordinary and 118,000 extraordinary members. Their work will be familiar to many of our readers and need not be described here. Suffice it to say that the movement, which is mainly the work of the clergy, is an interesting revival of the spirit which created the old Catholic Guilds, and that it has done incalculable service in raising the material and moral condition of the working classes.

But it is impossible to indicate briefly the multitudinous ways in which the clergy in Germany are co-operating in the complex work of social reform. We must note, however, that their efforts are not haphazard or isolated but systematic and concerted. They have at their disposal a wealth of Catholic books and periodicals which enable them to keep abreast of the latest results of social study, and to apply the soundest and most fruitful methods. They form a compact body of social reformers whose influence it is difficult to exaggerate.

It would be interesting if space allowed to describe the recent growth of interest taken in social work by the clergy of Italy and Spain. The story of Raiffeisen Banks in Italy is particularly interesting. They were first introduced into the country by L. Wollenborg, a Jew of Padua. A few years later (1890) the parish priest of Gambarare founded a bank of the same type but on entirely Catholic lines. The Catholic variety of bank proved so much more successful that Wollenborg was speedily driven out of the field. Thus between 1883 and 1892, the Jew had founded seventy-two banks. In 1893, he founded three, the Catholics twenty-nine. In 1894, he founded two, the Catholics 105. Here, again, the clergy are mainly responsible for the movement.<sup>1</sup>

In Spain a notable impulse has been given to social activity

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Civiltà Cattolica*, xv. vol. 12, p. 671.

among the clergy owing to the initiative of the Bishop of Madrid who presides over a permanent committee of social work, and has established regular courses of lectures on social economy in his seminary, which laymen also are invited to attend. Similar courses are given, it may be observed, in several other Spanish seminaries. A monthly bulletin is distributed gratis to all the parish priests. It chronicles the progress of social movements and suggests forms of social work in which the clergy may profitably engage. A number of the Spanish clergy are founding associations similar to those which are due to the initiative of French parish priests. The associations of Catholic workmen have multiplied by three during the last few years, and now number 622, including credit banks, savings banks, rural syndicates, co-operatives, and the like. One of the most zealous and successful of social workers among the clergy is Father Antonio Vicent, of whose stirring campaign something may be said on a future occasion.

Of the social work of the Belgian clergy much might of course be said. But this, too, must be reserved for another article.

Even a cursory study of what has been done on the Continent cannot fail to remind us of the very great advantages which a priest enjoys in the field of social work. His close and sympathetic contact with his parishioners gives him a knowledge of their circumstances, their dispositions, and their real wants which the lay-student cannot so easily acquire. His philosophical and theological studies produce a certain balance of mind and detachment which are invaluable to the social worker. His position and authority imply considerable social influence. And finally the fact that he is a member of a highly organized religious body and can draw upon a glorious tradition of social service rendered to man through many centuries, will reinforce his courage which might be tempted to flag at the sight of the world's miseries.

The Catholic clergy on the Continent have realized the need of social study as a condition of effective work. In England our clergy have, as a rule, been overburdened by the immediate demands on their spiritual ministrations, and have scarcely had any opportunity of giving concerted attention to social study. But as time goes on we may hope to see increased solidarity in this respect. The knowledge and experience of social conditions possessed by many individual priests in this country is so

extensive and valuable that it would be a great gain to the Catholic body (and indeed to the nation) could they find means of putting that knowledge and experience at the service of others. It is gratifying to learn that an effort is being made to promote intercommunication between Catholic social students among the clergy and laity in this country. The movement (over which Mgr. Parkinson has undertaken to preside), has already secured a considerable measure of support. Should it meet (as we trust it will), with general encouragement, there is no reason why Catholic social effort in England should not receive a stimulus and an assured direction which would enable it to rival the splendid achievements of the Catholics in countries where social action is being zealously promoted by clergy and laity.

P.

### *The Rationalist as Prophet.*

---

ONLY last March an orator<sup>1</sup> at the National Free Church Council thrilled his audience by describing what he called—"The Alarming Development of Modern Romanism"—a portent which, according to the testimony of a kindred spirit,<sup>2</sup> was "burning and working in the minds of millions of quiet Englishmen," to the grievous disturbance, no doubt, of their rest and their digestions. But now in August arises another prophet to banish the spectre evoked by the first, and to bring peace to the Rome-haunted minds of the Hockings and the Hortons and the millions aforesaid. A certain Mr. McCabe has written a large book,<sup>3</sup> full of facts and figures, of deductions and comparisons, of analysis, tests, and generalizations, the purpose and upshot of which is to demonstrate that, so far from increasing in England, the Church of Rome is in a process of speedy decay, both there and all over the world. It is a book sure of a wide welcome, because it aims at stilling the doubts and satisfying the desires of that multitude of people to whom the continued existence of the Catholic Church seems a menace or a reproach. It will, doubtless, prove a godsend to writers in the less-reputable Protestant journals, never too careful in their choice of material in their desire to besmirch Catholicity, and we are not sure that our Anglican friends will not allow their prejudice against things Roman to blind them to the real purpose and the questionable methods of the author.

It certainly makes a brave show, does this thick volume, with its air of moderation and scientific impartiality, and, were they as thoughtless and liable to panic, it might possibly cause amongst "Romanists" as much alarm as Mr. Hocking's diatribe did in the Free Church Council. But we fancy such announce-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Joseph Hocking at Swansea, March 10, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Horton in *The Daily News*, March 15, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> *The Decay of the Church of Rome*. By Joseph McCabe. London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.

ments have been made too often to cause a shock to any member of the ancient Church. They have been heard at every desperate crisis of her history, at each stage in her age-long fight with the world, when her powerful foe has seemed to be successful at last, and, as often as uttered, they have been falsified by the event. But, even without this light from the past, we may scan Mr. McCabe's pages of carefully-marshalled statistics with nerves quite unruffled, for our belief in the perpetuity and indefectibility of the Church does not rest on numerical computations, but on a certain saying of Him whose word shall not pass away.

To do him justice, Mr. McCabe has some apprehension that he may be taken merely as the latest of a very long line of false prophets, for he is at pains to describe his method as something hitherto untried, and he claims to have discovered in our modern world the presence of certain "new and subtle forces,"<sup>1</sup> whose effect on the Church will surely be "thoroughly and once for all, and for the very last time, and for ever and ever, to annihilate her once more."<sup>2</sup> However little of the history of the Church he knew, he could not be unaware of those features of her career developed with such brilliant emphasis by Macaulay in his famous essay. He must have felt that an institution which has survived nineteen centuries and has passed, with essential features unchanged and with vitality unimpaired, through such trials as the early persecutions, the recurrent State-fostered heresies, the barbarian invasions, the Great Schism, the corruption of the Renaissance, the revolts of the sixteenth century, Jansenism, the French Revolution, the destruction of the Temporal Power, possesses a source of life and a secret of recuperation quite beyond the reach of ordinary human vicissitudes. Still, he does not hesitate to imply that it has been reserved to him in these late days to discover what so many generations of subtle and powerful and bitter foes have missed—the real weakness of the Roman system and the signs that betoken its speedy decay. The claim is certainly not wanting in hardihood, and its very boldness has imposed upon various indolent reviewers, who have hastened to take Mr. McCabe at his own valuation and to give him, as the soldiers did the famous cobbler of Köpenick, their unquestioning adherence. More thoughtful, less prejudiced, readers will pause before they

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Newman, *Present Position of Catholics*, Lect. 1, § 1.



believe that the world has only now found a weapon hitherto unused with which to accomplish the destruction of its ancient enemy.

It may be asked why we should trouble to examine these latest pretensions in a Catholic Review when we know beforehand that they must be illusory: why we do not allow the *Decay of the Church of Rome* to pass in silence to its place on the anti-Catholic shelf, to be perused with a pitying smile by far-off generations of our declining Church. Well, it is certainly not out of regard for the intrinsic value of the argument, nor, be it said without offence, for the literary standing of the author that we devote a few pages to the consideration of this volume. It is rather because it gives occasion for a re-statement of the true nature of the Catholic Church, an idea misunderstood and obscured not only by free-thinkers like Mr. McCabe, but also by many modern heretics who seek to mould Christianity to suit their philosophic theories. The book, besides, gives a useful insight into the "After-Christian"<sup>1</sup> mind, illustrating its prepossessions, as well as the arguments and historical views that weigh with it, and again, so far as its facts and inferences are sound, it indicates the character of the fight which the Church of the future will have to wage, when the disruptive tendencies of the Protestant principle have fully worked themselves out. And furthermore, we can gather from these bitterly hostile pages a useful and stimulating idea of the forces at work in various lands which have the overthrow of the Church as their main object.

The plan of the book, then, is briefly this. Mr. McCabe, himself holding no form of creed but contemplating all, looks abroad over the Christian world, taking particular notice of the historic Church of Rome. Regarding that Church he asks himself—is her membership increasing in proportion to the increase of the earth's population, or does it maintain the same percentage, or is it falling short of it? In answering these queries, he discards, of course, the *à priori* methods, which have led, he considers, many previous prophets astray. The state of Catholicity, he maintains, is not to be ascertained by considering whether that religion is the best fitted to satisfy the spiritual or emotional cravings of men, or to solve their mental question-

<sup>1</sup> "After-Christians"—the term was invented by Mr. C. S. Devas in *The Key to the World's Progress*—are those, or the descendants of those, who have passed through Christian influence and rejected it for something that seemed to them better.



ings; nor even by studying its past history, which records so many unexpected triumphs. Its actual condition, in his view, can only be rightly determined by trying to estimate what number of Catholics there actually are and whether that number falls short of, or exceeds, the number there ought to be, supposing the Church to have held her own. For this purpose the only fitting method is that of collecting and classifying and analyzing statistics; to statistics, accordingly, Mr. McCabe betakes himself, considering separately, for clearness sake, the Latin world (France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, Spanish America), the English-speaking world (the British Isles, the United States, the British Colonies), and the Germanic world (the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland). A minor sub-division is devoted to Russia, and Foreign Missions fall under one or other of the main headings. The author takes the estimated Church-membership of these various countries, and subjects it to various tests, with comments dictated by his own experience, by the views of his authorities, and by what purport to be glimpses of contemporary history. Having by these means reduced it to what he thinks a reasonable figure, he then calculates what it ought to be at the natural rate of increase, going back for the purpose to the middle of last century,<sup>1</sup> and, as a result, he has no difficulty in pointing out a very grave deficit. His conclusion, which he claims to be capable of "rigid demonstration," is stated as follows:<sup>2</sup>

*Instead of showing signs of increase, the Church of Rome is rapidly decaying, and only a dramatic<sup>3</sup> change of its whole character can save it from ruin.*

Now, with regard to the first part of Mr. McCabe's thesis we may remark that, if it is at all true, it points to a decay not of Catholicism only but of all belief in revealed religion. The author concentrates his attention on the Catholic Church, but in reality what he seeks to prove is the decline of Christianity. For it cannot be seriously doubted that, if decay is at work in the chief upholder of the dogmatic principle, revelation is being

<sup>1</sup> P. 6. Sometimes he reckons a whole century back: his whole time-limit is vague and arbitrary.

<sup>2</sup> P. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Why *dramatic*? We may notice that the second part of this proposition is not provable by statistics, but is merely a conjecture of Mr. McCabe's, quite incapable of "rigid demonstration."

discredited all along the line. And, as a matter of fact, we have explicit testimony from the various Protestant bodies that, as far as numbers go, such is the case with practically all of them. Statistics of church-attendance, of baptisms, confirmations, and ordinations, point, we are told, to a steady and even rapid falling off. And so we think it rather disingenuous in Mr. McCabe to imply, as he does,<sup>1</sup> that it is merely Catholicism and not Christianity as a whole that he thinks is declining. Still, the good man had to write a saleable book, one that would attract public attention and flatter popular prejudice, and so he does not head it, as he just as well might, *The Decay of Revealed Religion*. It would attract still less attention were he to describe the decline of Anglicanism or of Methodism or to indicate that the Particular Baptists are becoming more particular or the Peculiar People more peculiar still. So he singles out the one institution that embodies the whole essence and principle of Christianity, convinced that, if only he can demonstrate its decay, he has *eo ipso* proved the spread of the contrary principle, the spirit of atheistic Free-Thought.

This book, then, is to be regarded as a piece of rationalist propaganda—a fact which must be borne in mind if we are rightly to judge of its methods and of its results. It is also necessary, since no critical effort can be properly appreciated without a knowledge of the credentials of the critic, to devote a few lines to Mr. McCabe personally, pointing out his peculiar standpoint and discussing his first principles on the correctness of which the value of his judgment must depend. He professes, indeed, an absolute impartiality, a strictly scientific attitude, an almost unnatural moderation.<sup>2</sup> The publisher's "puff," on the wrapper of the book, even ascribes to him a "detached sociological temper," as if sociological study *could* be dissociated from theories of man's origin and destiny. Let us carefully inquire into the validity of these lofty claims.

First of all, then, antecedently, the author is known as a vigorous upholder of the system of Free-Thought. One of his objects in life, if not the chief, is to popularize in this country the materialistic philosophy of Professor Haeckel, whose writings

<sup>1</sup> "Rome has now far less than 200,000,000 followers: the Protestant Churches have some 300,000,000." (p. 4.) Of course, as a man may disbelieve in Christ's Divinity and other fundamental doctrines of Christianity and still be reckoned a Protestant, the latter figures have no real significance.

<sup>2</sup> See especially pp. 9, 299, 308.

form the Gospel of his creed. And, furthermore, Mr. McCabe is not only an unbeliever, but he is a man who once believed, one who was once a Catholic priest and a Religious. We are not concerned with the moral causes or consequences of his change, which are properly his own affair: our one object in mentioning these details is to ascertain his intellectual point of view. He, indeed, makes no secret of his antecedents: on the contrary, we gather from his frequent references to his *Twelve Years in a Monastery*, from his describing himself as "formerly the Very Rev. Father Anthony"<sup>1</sup> that he regards his career as a progress from darkness to light, of which he has no reason to feel ashamed. Be that as it may, in virtue of that career he must have approached his present study with the strongest possible bias against the institution whose fortunes he contemplates. If sincere in his present belief he must regard the Church of Rome as a stronghold of degrading superstitions, based upon illusion, falsehood, violence, and fraud, and maintained by ignorance and "obscurantism." He must look upon its claims as a monstrous obstacle in the way of human progress and must welcome every seeming indication of its decay. Such is necessarily the temper of mind of the convinced and ardent rationalist, for "Rome" stands as the negation of his most cherished ideals. How then, we ask, could prepossessions such as these permit a really unprejudiced estimate of the character and history and future of the Church?

And as we should antecedently expect it, so we find it. There is little sign of impartiality about the work, or, rather, signs are not wanting but the substance is. And this, notwithstanding its professedly statistical character, for even statistics can be made to take colour according to the views of their manipulator. However, without accusing Mr. McCabe with consciously distorting his figures, we can trace the partisan in nearly every page of the book. For it is not wholly statistical: Mr. McCabe philosophizes freely, he describes events, he suggests causes, he traces results, he selects authorities, he narrates anecdotes, and all under the influence of such bitter prejudice that the whole volume, which one sapient reviewer finds "wholly

<sup>1</sup> In *Who's Who*. We must protest, however, against the assertion made in the publisher's "puff" aforesaid, that Mr. McCabe once occupied "a high position in the Church of Rome," with the implication that he is therefore exceptionally well qualified to judge of her decay. Ecclesiastically, his status never rose above that of a simple priest, although in his Order he was given charge of a small preparatory school for a short time.

free from controversial bias,"<sup>1</sup> positively reeks with anti-Catholic animus. Not without reason is it elsewhere<sup>2</sup> remarked that Mr. McCabe has turned "King's Evidence." A few examples must suffice to illustrate our charge, although many pages could be filled with them. In no case does he touch modern history without betraying the rankest anticlericalism, as thus :

In Spain, secure in the general illiteracy of the people, the Church of Rome has retained to our day the open sale of Indulgences that inflamed the moral sense of northern Europe four centuries ago.<sup>3</sup>

The following, again, is his facile explanation of the French Government's war upon the Religious Orders; its cynical disaccord with facts will be very evident to readers of this magazine.<sup>4</sup>

Besides this huge capital locked up in mortmain [the milliard, forsooth !] many of the congregations had enormous incomes. The *French nation* determined to put an end to this irritating and economically unhealthy state of things, and the Orders were mostly expelled, *after being allowed time to realize their property*.<sup>5</sup>

We notice throughout the secularist assumption that what is legal and harmless in the case of ordinary corporations, becomes noxious when the corporations have a religious object. Moreover, trusting to his readers' ignorance of Canon Law, or, it may be, in virtue of his own ignorance, Mr. McCabe endeavours to cast odium on French monks and nuns, by insinuating<sup>6</sup> that no Orders can, with due regard to their religious obligations, hold property either individually *or collectively*; the truth, of course, being that since the Council of Trent,<sup>7</sup> all Religious Orders can own property collectively, with the sole exception of the Capuchins and Friars Observant. The ordinary practice of employing *prête-noms* or lay substitutes in the tenure of property is simply adopted to comply with the requirements of civil codes which do not recognize Canon Law. Some elementary know-

<sup>1</sup> In *The Spectator*, August 28th.

<sup>2</sup> In *Truth*, September 8th.

<sup>3</sup> P. 12. He elaborates this impudent assertion still more unblushingly on p. 92, and without the excuse of ignorance, for he shows he has read the clear explanation of the Spanish practice given in the C.T.S. tract, *Are Indulgences sold in Spain?*

<sup>4</sup> See various articles republished in C.T.S. shilling volume, *The Crisis of the Church in France*.

<sup>5</sup> P. 35. Italics ours throughout.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 35—37. <sup>7</sup> Sess. 25, c. 3.

ledge of the subject might have saved us several pages of sneering comment on the part of our unfrocked friar, whose bias against the religious state is deplorably evident all through his book.<sup>1</sup>

Here, again, is the sort of evidence he offers for his strictures on Papal policy :

*It is recorded* that Leo XIII. said to the Archbishop of Albi when he came to pay his annual (*sic.*) visit, "Well, monseigneur, is it to be schism?" "*Ça dépend,*" (*sic.*) the Archbishop *is reported* to have said.<sup>2</sup>

Thus is history (and French) *à la McCabe* written.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in his chapter on Italy, he makes much of unsavoury gossip, collected at third and fourth hand, to vilify the authorities at Rome.

It were a loathsome, it is happily an unnecessary, task to cite further evidences of the bitter and wholly unscientific bias of our impartial sociologist. He gives the usual anti-Catholic version of the religious history of modern Europe. Everywhere the Church appears the same, corrupt, reactionary, blundering, narrow-minded, selfish, despotic, the foe to civil freedom, to education, to progress. He cites Mr. Michael McCarthy as his authority for the religious state of Ireland; he quotes the excommunicated Murri as "one of the chief Catholic protagonists" in Italy! His pages abound with stories to the discredit of the Church, but he gives no references or means of checking them. He groups together all the shortcomings of the Catholic nations—racial, social, educational, political,—and ascribes them all to their religion and to the tyranny of the priests. When it suits his argument he calls attention to the superior morality of Catholics in prohibiting any restriction on the fruits of marriage: on the other hand, he has the impudence

<sup>1</sup> For instance—"They [the religious congregations] performed no service in the least proportionate to the vast wealth they accumulated, and they were instinctively disloyal to the form of government that has proved best for the country." (p. 38.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 39.

<sup>3</sup> P. 65. A further instance of gross historical inaccuracy may be seen in the following: "In the reign of Charles X. [1824—1830] a zealous, astute, intriguing body spread throughout the kingdom [France] under the name of the 'Peccaminaristes.' [*sic.*] Every child knew that they were the followers of St. Ignatius." (p. 19.) Every serious historical student, at any rate, should know that the "Paccanarists" were not Jesuits, but a body of priests instituted by the Abbé Paccanari during the period of the suppression of the Society and dissolved a few years after its restoration in 1803. If the zealous and astute Jesuits were intriguing during the reign of Charles, it was under their own name.

to assert more than once that Catholic countries and districts show a larger percentage of illegitimate births.<sup>1</sup> In his longing to damage the Church, he does not shrink from statements which are manifestly silly in their wild exaggeration, as when he says:—

They [Modernist heretics] have been betrayed by *thousands of priests* whom they know, and many of us [who are *we*?] know, to be in *complete* sympathy with them.<sup>2</sup>

Even Mr. Arthur Galton's lively imagination did not venture beyond a hundred or so crypto-heretics in the priesthood.<sup>3</sup> But we have spent quite enough time to show Mr. McCabe's initial incompetence for the task he undertook and how it has affected his performance of it. Another volume bigger than his own would be required to point out and correct all his errors. It remains now to examine, as briefly as we may, the result of his labours, and to determine whether, in spite of his methods, he has made any contribution of value to this important sociological investigation.

In his original proposition, we may remember, he asserted that "the Church of Rome is rapidly decaying." Now, by decay it is clear that he means mere decrease in numbers. He makes no effort to show that she has become corrupt in doctrine, that she has ceased to possess the spirit and to reflect the mind of her Founder; in fact, by stating that "a dramatic change in her whole character" is necessary to save her from ruin, he bears testimony to her consistency. If she is to remain immortal, to use his not inapt epigram, she cannot remain immutable. Well, it is clear that wide fluctuations of numbers have marked her whole career. It is a necessary feature of her human lot, indicative of nothing but of the freedom of man's will and the strength of man's pride and passion. "But," replies Mr. McCabe in effect, "hitherto losses have been compensated for by gains; in recent times it has not been so: during the last century, the loss has been incessant and increasing, without any substantial offset." And if we say—"Well, what is a century in the life of the immortal Church?" he

<sup>1</sup> Not even the fair fame of the women of Ireland is safe from his cowardly slanders, unsupported by any evidence. In the case of Austria-Hungary, the nation is assumed to be Catholic when the statistics of illegitimacy are concerned, whereas the whole aim of his chapter is to show that the number of lapsed Catholics is enormous.

<sup>2</sup> P. 306.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Tablet*, August 28th, "Mr. Galton as a Prophet."

invokes triumphantly the agency of these "new and subtle forces," on the discovery of which, as we have seen, he rests his claim to stand apart from the ordinary prophet of Rome's decline, and to figure as a genuine seer. These forces we shall turn to in a moment; meanwhile, on the question of numbers, without attempting to check in detail Mr. McCabe's statistics, we may offer some reasons why they should be considered in the main untrustworthy.

To start with, Mr. McCabe's whole basis of computation seems to us wholly arbitrary. Why does he limit his survey, roughly, to the last century? And why does he ascribe to the Church of to-day the results of defections which occurred so many years ago? "Decay" of this sort is accumulative: one apostate a century ago will be represented at the present moment by a hundred non-Catholic descendants. If he applied his system logically, he should reckon from the time when practically all Christendom was Catholic, and he should count, therefore, among the Church's losses the 300,000,000 he claims for Protestantism to-day. This logical application shows his contention to be absurd. It is no reproach to the Church and no sign of the untenableness of her doctrine, *i.e.*, of her decay, that millions who have no real knowledge of her claims, do not accept them. When Mr. McCabe can tell us how many persons there are now living who, having been Catholics and having carefully examined the tenets of the Church, have for clear and creditable reasons rejected them, then we shall have material for judging of the alleged decay of "Rome." Till then, his sums in addition and subtraction have mainly an arithmetical interest.

Once more, Mr. McCabe has quite an erroneous notion of what constitutes membership of the Church. He knows that Catholics are bound to hear Mass on Sundays and to go to their Easter duties, under pain of grievous sin. He knows, besides, that Catholics hold that to die in grievous sin is to incur eternal damnation. Thereupon, he argues, with the lack of logic that mars so much of his writing, Catholics who neglect the grave obligation must have ceased to believe in the grave penalty, and so must have rejected an article of faith and put themselves out of the Church. Such, we conceive, is his argument, for he mentions Mass-attendance over and over again as a test of Catholic *belief*.<sup>1</sup> In his anxiety to reduce the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 23, 141, 142.



number of "Rome's adherents" our statistician fails to realize that, according to his logic, no member of the Church could commit a mortal sin without thereby ceasing to be a Catholic. If ex-Father Anthony has so completely forgotten his theology, his experience of human nature at any rate should have taught him that there is no necessary connection between belief and practice, between faith and works—a fact which has been the theme of moralists from the beginning of time. The Church includes both sinners and the righteous. According to the idea of her Founder, she is as a net gathering together all kinds of fishes, and as a wheat-field wherein the enemy has over-sowed cockle. The ordinary life of many of her members is a series of risings and relapses, according as grace or nature gains the upper hand in their life-long contest. If she has been endowed with so many wonderful gifts, if she is so prolific in loving devices, it is mainly to recall the erring to her fold and to strengthen the wavering. So long, therefore, as the sinner does not put himself outside her pale by the formal rejection of some point of faith, (an act which means the rejection of faith altogether), so long will she wait in patience and pray with hope for his recovery. While faith lasts, grace has material to work upon, there is a chance of a return to love, the state of the soul is not desperate.<sup>1</sup>

And so with Mr. McCabe's leave she must have back again those multitudes of careless livers of whom he would deprive her because *hic et nunc* they are not as good as they ought to be. *He* may try, if he likes, to break the bruised reed and to quench the smoking flax; that is not the spirit of our tender mother, the Catholic Church. Of course she is not proud of such children; they are no credit to her: there is no human organization but would gladly cast them off: but so long as they believe in her, although at the moment they do not obey her, she will not, she cannot, reject them. Mr. McCabe's estimates, therefore, so far as they involve this fundamental error, need fundamental revision. Not until he can show us that all those who do not now practise their religion will never

<sup>1</sup> Mr. McCabe, and the tribe of anti-Catholic controversialists who think with him that the Church is responsible for all the delinquencies of the mixed multitudes that form her visible body, would do well to clarify their ideas by the perusal of those two luminous essays of Newman's—*The Social State of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church*, and *The Religious State of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church*—both published at 1d. by the C.T.S.



practise it, will he be justified in reckoning them as lost to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

It seems hardly worth while to point out further fallacies in Mr. McCabe's treatment of statistics. He pursues several distinct lines of proof, but in each we find some flaw of greater or less consequence. We may, perhaps, call attention to a few. He assumes that, because of the absence of "race suicide" amongst conscientious Catholics, the Catholic rate of reproduction is greater than the non-Catholic, but he makes no allowance for unconscientious Catholics, nor, indeed, for conscientious non-Catholics. He ignores, moreover, the fact that the practice of voluntary celibacy amongst Catholics naturally lowers their marriage rate, and he takes for granted that, in the case of mixed marriages, the offspring are Catholic, as if pre-nuptial promises were not often, as we know to our cost, dishonourably disregarded. Once more, because the Church condemns the practice of sending Catholic children to non-Catholic schools, he supposes that our school-attendance in England and America may be taken as an accurate basis on which to calculate our numbers. And even so, he considers only elementary schools, leaving out of count the children in private schools, orphanages, and other institutions. Careful inspection, furthermore, reveals that his figures in many cases are not up-to-date. In the United States, for instance, where the population increases so abnormally, we are given no returns later than 1900, and much of the calculation is based on returns ten years older.<sup>2</sup>

If it were not that Mr. McCabe makes such parade of exactness and sobriety of estimate, some of these assumptions might be disregarded. Independent of the information he purports to give us, we are only too well aware that men in every land are continually falling away from the Church, as well as joining her fold, and that the losses are very great where Catholics are oppressed by iniquitous political or social conditions, and where the clergy are too few to minister effectively to all their flocks. If Mr. McCabe's book, by bringing this fact, deplored by

<sup>1</sup> We are well aware that neglect of practice may, and sometimes does, harden into positive unbelief. But statistics can give no evidence of this.

<sup>2</sup> His final conclusion in regard to the States is that Catholics there number less than 9,000,000. Dr. H. K. Carroll, a well-known non-Catholic authority, using the latest census, estimates their number in his annual report as 12,394,731, *exclusive of children below Communion-age*. The official *Catholic Directory* for 1909 gives the whole number as 14,235,451.

the authorities of the Church, thoroughly home to the ordinary Catholic, serves to awaken him to a keener sense of his obligation to help in spreading the knowledge of his faith, we shall not regret its publication.

We have left but little space to discuss the point on which Mr. McCabe really lays the most stress—the existence in our modern civilization of a disruptive agency which has never before effectively applied to the Roman system, and under which it must inevitably succumb.<sup>1</sup> Little space, happily, is needed, as our readers will at once perceive, when we mention that this potent weapon is merely—Education! So the Church, which has stood for education from the beginning, which has founded Universities, erected Colleges, established Teaching Orders, which never builds a temple for God's worship without trying to construct a school as well—this Church is finally to be destroyed by her own foster-child! The idea is, on the face of it, so preposterous, that one is forced to conclude that the education Mr. McCabe speaks of, is not the ordinary variety. And so, indeed, it turns out; Education in this Free-thinker's mind, is, of course, Secular, Non-Religious—in other words, Anti-Religious Education. This, then, is his "new and subtle force," about the character and tendencies of which we may freely grant all that he says. It is quite true that the Church declares war upon such education; that, although no friend of ignorance, she esteems a virtuous life far beyond the vastest knowledge; uncontrolled by faith that she prefers her children to be saved with one eye than to be lost with two, it is quite true that where such education prevails, her rule is apt to be shaken off as a burden which has no sanction. Mr. McCabe has simply wasted many pages in proving that godless education results in godlessness. But what our logician has not shown, and cannot show, what he is therefore content with asserting, is that real education necessarily results in the rejection of the Church's claims, that, in proportion as the human mind develops, belief in Rome's supernatural pretensions becomes more difficult.<sup>2</sup> The existence of *one* highly-educated and sincere Catholic is enough to disprove that assertion. Mr. McCabe is talking the language, not of science, not of history, not of truth, but of the low anti-Catholic

<sup>1</sup> P. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The attitude of the Church towards secular knowledge and accomplishments, is admirably sketched in the Essay, *The Church and Culture*, in Mr. Devas' *The Key to the World's Progress*. (Longmans, 6d.) In this work we have a classic example of sociological study, as truly scientific as Mr. McCabe's is the reverse.

pamphleteer, when he says that "culture" and the Church are necessarily opposed, and that the decrease in her membership is due to the spread of "enlightenment."

Similarly, when he declares that the vast majority of the Church's children are illiterate,<sup>1</sup> what is he doing but unconsciously echoing St. Paul's<sup>2</sup> description of the first Christians and claiming for "Rome" what Christ gave as one of the signs of His mission?<sup>3</sup> He does not believe, we presume, in a spiritual soul nor in any life beyond the grave, and so, from the heights of his enlightenment, he looks down with scorn on what the Church considers one of her chief glories—the fact that she has a message to the lowest races of mankind as well as to the highest. The Church teaches them to save their souls: Mr. McCabe would have them taught that they have no souls to save. The upshot of it all is that in his eyes the spread of education means ability to read Haeckel! And so we are not much impressed by our Free-thinker's "cultural" statistics and his constant charge of "obscurantism" brought against the Church. The Church was founded to bring men to God, and men are brought to God by the will rather than by the intellect.<sup>4</sup> It is no news to be told that where the Church is hindered by iniquitous legislation in the exercise of her divine commission to secure the religious training of the young, there her numbers are decreasing: it is obvious, we hope, that, if "culture" and "education" are held to include abandonment of Catholicity, where "culture" and "education" spread, Catholicity will be abandoned. Really if Mr. McCabe had had the honesty at the start to define his standpoint and to state the real meaning he attaches to these ambiguous terms, he might have spared both himself and his readers a good deal of unnecessary work. The Church has nothing to fear from education if the result is that the *whole* man is developed proportionately.

Again, that so many eminent persons are to be found outside

<sup>1</sup> Illiteracy is determined, in census returns, by inability to read, an inability, as history shows, quite compatible with considerable moral and even mental development. Judged by the secular standard of their time, the Apostles themselves were "ignorant and illiterate men." (Acts iv. 13.) But of course Mr. McCabe takes little stock of Apostles.

<sup>2</sup> "See your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble." (1 Cor. i. 26.)

<sup>3</sup> "The poor have the Gospel preached to them." (St. Luke vii. 22.)

<sup>4</sup> It is only another instance of Mr. McCabe's inconsistency that in the beginning of his book (p. 3) he owns that the Church has always been the champion of reason, within its proper sphere.

her pale is not a sign that Catholicity is incompatible with eminence in any sphere of human activity. The fact that so many eminent men also belong to the Church in every country and in every profession may be held to disprove that theory. Mr. McCabe, however, asserts that there is not one at present "of the world's leading figures in philosophy, history, science, or letters," who accepts the Catholic scheme of theology<sup>1</sup>—a good specimen, by the way, of the unprovable generalizations with which his book abounds. Well, not to make an invidious selection between living celebrities, we may surely point to a goodly list of saints and heroes and geniuses, acknowledged as eminent even by the world, who in their time professed the Catholic faith. But that is not enough for Mr. McCabe. "Where," he asks in regard to English Catholics, "in the Catholic England of to-day are the successors of Wiseman, Newman, Pugin, Digby, Ward, Hope-Scott, T. Arnold, Coventry Patmore, Aubrey de Vere, Mivart, and Lord Acton?"<sup>2</sup> Well, even granting that there are no living Catholics of equal eminence to these, a matter on which posterity can best pass judgment, what help is that to his argument? Does the fact that they are now dead weaken their witness to the complete accord between intellectual eminence and the profession of Catholicity?

So much for Mr. McCabe's fatuous attempt to claim a higher mental development for non-Catholics as such. We have only to read his pages to see that enlightenment, such as he advocates, produces on the Continent nothing but a goodly crop of socialists, atheists, and anarchists. The Barcelona rioters are the natural outcome of his type of education.<sup>3</sup> The *Asino*, which he mildly stigmatizes as "bitter and satiric," gives it appropriate literary expression. In view of the known moral

<sup>1</sup> P. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 147, 148.

<sup>3</sup> As we should expect, Mr. McCabe is full of sympathy for the anarchist Ferrer, whom the Spanish Government have recently arrested in connection with the Barcelona outrages. The programme of this "cultivated and high-minded Spaniard" (p. 79), which has been published in English papers, aims at the destruction of the religious, political, and social order, and shows what is the real object of the "secular" schools which he has laboured to establish. Ferrer, according to Mr. McCabe, is "a man of culture and of great humanity and *notoriously opposed to violence*" (p. 79). As who should say—"he is fond of throwing matches into powder-magazines, but is notoriously opposed to explosions." The recent action of "enlightened" England in regard to the *Indian Sociologist* bears a curious resemblance to that of "reactionary" Spain.

condition of the bulk of seceders from the Church the effrontery of the whole contention is really astounding.

One word more about the author's spirit. In all his 300 odd pages, he says no word in commendation of the Church, ascribes not one benefit to her influence, quotes not a single testimony in her favour. It is *écrasez l'infâme* throughout. And as with the body, so with individuals: nowhere does he point out the relative value of conversions and perversions as testimonies to the character of Catholicism. This omission we may venture to supply.

In a very true sense, then, it is "natural" not to be a Catholic; one has simply to let oneself go, to ignore one's obligations, to forget one's responsibility, to swim with the stream. To produce apostasy the devil and the world join hands with the flesh. On the other hand, all three generally combine to oppose conversion. There is need of a determined will, of a clear understanding, of a decided effort. The convert is assuming obligations, both intellectual and moral, which *ceteris paribus* involve a harder rule of life. There are a number of burdensome duties imposed under serious sanction—fasting, abstinence, Sunday Mass, confession, and obedience to the teaching of the Church. There is, generally speaking, the contempt or hostility of the world to be faced: there may be alienation of friends, abandonment of career, at least a check on social and professional advancement. Hence one sincere convert as a witness to the true nature of Catholicism is of more value than a hundred lapsed Catholics, however "cultured." Herein lies the consolation of the Church in face of the fact that many of her children, out of reach of her teaching or seduced by temporal advantages, cast off her yoke. That yoke is voluntarily assumed day by day by a number of chosen souls who sacrifice much of their worldly prospects for the privilege of belonging to her fold. Herein she experiences what she knows already by faith—that the divine impulse is as strong within her to-day as on the first Christian Pentecost, that the Gospel message is as potent to satisfy the cravings of the modern world as it was in any previous age. And within her fold, under the inspired guidance of that holy Pontiff at whom Mr. McCabe so often and so unworthily sneers, she feels divine life energizing as it has rarely done before. By his legislation concerning Holy Communion alone Pius X. has done more to stir the fervour of the faithful and to unite them in the bonds of charity than any

imaginable series of diplomatic triumphs could have accomplished. Cut off from the life of the Church, Mr. McCabe has studied it from a distance and from the outside. He sees the leaves withering here and there and falling off: what he does not see, what only a Catholic can feel, is the vigour of the sap working in the mighty trunk and far-flung branches. His assertions of present decay, his prophecies of decay in the future, alike spring from a merely superficial survey of the situation.

In the last pages of the book, where the argument is summarized, its defects and its offensiveness are more glaringly apparent. The writer who cannot see what is before his face attempts to penetrate the future. "I shrink from forecasts," Mr. McCabe exclaims, after indulging in three pages of them. They are of the usual sort; "Come down from the Cross and we will believe in Thee." The Church must accommodate itself to the world, must abandon its mediævalism, must cease to meddle with politics and economics. In any case, whatever she does, the present is dark and the outlook is darker. But the fault, we fancy, lies in the purblind gaze that scans it.

J. K.

## *The Economy of Religious Orders.*

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As matter, wheresoever placed, attracts other matter and is attracted by it, so every society of men, however spiritual its purpose, affects the market as consumer, and often as producer also. Under the head of production I count not merely the turning out of commodities that can be carried and handled, but the bringing about of any effect for which men are willing to pay a monied price, as education and the restoration of health. To a purely contemplative Religious Order then I have nothing to say. My concern is with the Teaching Orders, and with the Orders that do corporal works of mercy for the sick and the poor. It is conceivable, though by no means probable, for these Orders to increase and prosper to such a pitch as to leave no room, in Catholic schools, for paid secular masters; no room anywhere, where Religious gain access, for paid secular nurses, or any paid secular functionaries or helpers ministering to the relief of the poor. The market for all such labour would then be glutted by Religious. Religious vocations are never likely to be abundant enough for this consummation to be arrived at. It will remain a point, marking the direction of a tendency, but never reached. But the tendency certainly exists, an economic force to be reckoned with. The tendency is actuated and set up by the three essential components of Religious Life, the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. These go towards enabling the Religious to undersell the market and oust competitors. The Religious schoolmaster, or schoolmistress, or nurse, wants no personal superfluities. *Having food and wherewith to be clothed, with these he, or she, is content.*<sup>1</sup> The Religious man has no wife to dress, no children to rear. His summer holiday, if he gets one, costs less than that of many a factory hand. The breezes of the Righi and the Riviera do not fan his brow. He may be Superior of his Order, doing work of intelligence, skill and command, that elsewhere would be remu-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 8.



nerated with a salary of £800 a year : he gets no more for himself than the humblest laybrother. The men and women, whose capacity guides and maintains Religious Houses, virtually pool their salaries for the good of the Community. Whatever money comes in to a Religious House stays and fructifies there : it is not carried off to endow private households. Add to this, that a Religious Order is a compact body, its members welded together by obedience and working in unison ; free from strife, jealousy, and personal ambition ; every one doing what he, or she, can do for the common good. Like the ancient Gilds, a Religious Body has its "craft and mystery," the treasure of its traditional experience, which the juniors receive from their seniors and endeavour to augment. The wonder really is that the active Religious Orders do not outstrip their competitors in the same field of action further than they do. But there are drawbacks. Perhaps there is not always that energy shown by individuals, which appears where each is playing for his own hand.

The idea is absurd, but it will serve its purpose of illustration, if we imagine a Religious Society founded for the charitable purpose of conveying passengers about London. The brethren are all masters of the art of driving through crowded thoroughfares : cabs and horses, or motor-cars, are provided, arrangements are made with authorities, and licenses taken out. On every cab is painted O.H.A., which means Order of Holy Aurigas. The members, being religious men, never clamour for excessive fares and use no bad language. They pool their earnings, and live frugally and soberly. Of course they have no families, but they have sick and aged brethren to support, and aspirants to train until they can drive safely. Occasionally a wealthy man, who of all his expensive education has retained only the art of managing horses, joins the Order, and all his wealth goes to the common fund. Thus, one way or another, they are able to keep the fares down to sixpence for the first mile, or fraction of a mile, and twopence for every additional mile, not counting fractions. To save all possible dispute, the fare is announced to each passenger as he gives his order and enters the cab. Clearly such a religious undertaking would have economic bearings. Its effect on the earnings of other cabmen may be conceived : their comments perhaps had better go unrecorded.

That Teaching Orders of Religious influence the Catholic



education market, stands confessed. Whether professional nurses suffer from the competition of Religious Nursing Sisters, I cannot say. Charity organization, public and private, is still so incomplete that I suppose the Little Sisters of the Poor have few or no professional competitors, and diminish no one's receipts.

Long before the all-engrossing, paramount Social Democracy has gone all lengths, and swallowed up in its maw all private capital and all private productive enterprise, it will have made a State monopoly of education and of the relief of the poor. Socialists of the wiser sort propose to transform the world by degrees. They will gobble up their weaker rivals first, then the stronger. They will spare the private capitalist till they have devoured the private educator, particularly the clerical educator, and all private charities. With high-salaried teachers, expensive scientific apparatus, low school-fees, and endless scholarships, they will drive the *bête noire* out of the field. The difference will be paid out of rates and taxes: but that will be made up by the increased commercial efficiency and money-making power of the community. So they purpose. Pauperism and disease constitute a greater difficulty, but that too is to be got over: there is to be thorough sanitation, abundant hospital room, work and wages for all. But the loafer and cadger will be sharply dealt with. Religious Orders will find their occupation gone in the Democratic State: or, if they continue to exist, they will be confined to choir duties and the providing of pageants. From school and hospital they will be "shouldered out by the operation of economic laws."

The Religious Orders, if I read them right, are not afraid of economic laws. They desire nothing but a fair field and no favour, no monopoly, and open competition. Those are the conditions under which economic laws work. The laws that shoulder religious men out are not economic laws, but the arbitrary enactments of faction and bigotry, hounding out of the market a too successful competitor. 'These men beat us as teachers, therefore we will procure a vote to close their schools.' It is the very rankest abuse of Protectionism.

Religious Orders, I think, might hold their own even under a Social Democracy, in works of education and charity, if the government were not positively hostile and anti-religious. They are capable of holding their own, under the same

condition, with any form of Government existing or likely to exist for the present. The strength of a Religious Order is great. It is a disciplined body, responsive to command, plucky and resolute; nor is its strength wholly of this world. And it possesses that conspicuous excellence of every healthy organism, the power of recovery after a reverse. But Religious Orders have to remember, I speak of the educational Orders, and, to a less extent, of what I may call the eleemosynary Orders,—they have to remember they are now engaged in the “haggling of the market.” The education they give must be of the best attainable: their services in hospital must be unsurpassed. Otherwise, as public money comes to flow more and more lavishly in these channels, mere cheapness will not suffice to keep them in their place. Where money abounds, people seek a good commodity rather than a cheap commodity, especially where they fancy that the commodity, if good, may be turned to commercial purposes afterwards. On the teaching Orders, as such, no mundane counsel is more incumbent than that of educating their junior and still educable members in that education which meets the requirements of the present day. Modern education has a wide range. A Religious Order may not consider itself called upon to teach at once Latin and Greek, German and French, mathematics, chemistry, biology, electricity, music, needlework, painting, geography, geology, modern history, political economy, commercial statistics, and book-keeping. It must make up its mind which of these subjects it will teach in its schools, and which not; also, which it will teach by agency of its own members, and which by the employment of secular masters and mistresses. I believe, secular teachers will have to be employed largely by Religious Bodies, especially for the teaching of what are in their curriculum counted as subsidiary subjects. In a town, public lectures will be available. But here a caution comes in. There is no greater delusion in education than the delusion of listening to lectures,—if nothing more be done than that. A student knows nothing of a subject, on which he has merely attended a course of lectures. The lectures must be *rubbed in*, or they are lost. The person who  *rubs in lectures* into individuals, is commonly called their *tutor*. The lecturer breaks the soil and ploughs the furrow, but the tutor sows the grain. The tutor selects the lectures to be attended in view of the end proposed, then he tests by examination, oral and written, how the lecture has

been followed, what books have been read in elucidation of it, how far it has been digested in hours of private study. To do this, the tutor himself must know the subject thoroughly. I may add, the tutor has the moulding of the student's mind more than the lecturer: for minds are moulded by individual care. Even while sending their scholars to lectures in public institutions, the members of a Religious Order should be competent and careful to do the work of a tutor themselves at home.

There are two courses open to Religious Orders, educational and eleemosynary. The one is to compete at their own expense with State-subsented organizations: the other is themselves to compete for State subvention, and where they can secure it, work in the pay, and so far forth under the control, of the State or the Municipality. Their cue probably will be to follow the former course, as far as it is tenable; and when they can hold on that way no longer, then to turn to the second. That course ought not to be impossible to them. Religious have capacity and splendid organization: Government wants good servants, and, we may hope, will labour under no megalomaniac admiration of a vast expenditure, but will accept services that are at once good and not too costly.

But the division of labour,—what is to become of the division of labour, if persons, being already Religious, further persist in teaching schools, in nursing the sick, and catering for the destitute? I reply, No principle works in isolation: with the division of labour I conjoin another principle, much insisted upon in the present day in the highest philosophical circles, that of the unity of human nature. We may sometimes usefully distinguish the cognitive and the religious faculty, or we may say that man consists of body, mind, and spirit. But, after all, one and the same person takes cognisance of facts of history and believes in and worships God: one and the same man has his sick body nursed, and his sick soul justified and restored to grace. Whoever feeds and comforts the body in its distress, whoever trains the mind, influences also the soul and spirit. To offer religious aid with no promise for mind or body, might easily be to lose one's labour. That is why Religious men and women, who, as St. Thomas says, "dedicate their entire lives to the worship of God," make it a main end of their institute to nurse the sick or to keep school. The labour of literary or scientific teaching in school, or of nursing in hospital,

is a main end with them, but it is not the ultimate end of their endeavours. Professionally, they are not mere schoolmasters nor mere nurses. They tend body and mind to save the soul, and lead the immortal spirit to the everlasting worship of its Creator. It matters not to my salvation, who drives me from Oxford Circus to the Bank: it may matter a good deal to my eternal destiny, who forms my opening mind, or who smooths the pillow on which I lie dying. A cab-driving Religious Order is then an absurdity: but an educational Religious Order, or a nursing Religious Order, is very meet and opportune.

As people write romances of a Socialist Commonwealth where everybody is well-behaved and public-spirited, and thence argue the desirability of such a regimen, so one may picture all schools managed and taught by good Catholic men and women of the world, all hospitals and all charities served and administered by pious secular persons, the nun meanwhile singing her Office in choir, the priest officiating at Mass and Vespers, and only entering the school to teach Catechism, or the hospital to administer the last Sacraments; and so one may chant hymns of exultation over so excellent a division of labour, so perfect a severance of the temporal and spiritual. But we do not live in an ideal world. We must consider facts as they are, and as they are likely to remain all the days of our mortal life and our children's. The pious Catholic secular is not at hand in sufficient numbers to fill the void that would be left by the suppression of the Religious Teaching Orders. The places of these Religious Teachers will be taken by men of a very opposite type, by men who will contrive to teach natural knowledge with such insinuations and innuendoes, if not with such open affronts to religion, as shall give their pupils' minds a bias against all belief in the supernatural. This is by no means necessary: of course a secular may teach a secular subject without prejudice to religion. But though not necessary, the thing is frequently done. Religious then teach schools to keep such men out of the teaching. Something similar may be said also of the work of relieving the bodily necessities of the poor. Even when municipal organization is perfect, the Municipality may well employ the Little Sisters or the Sisters of Nazareth. They will not easily find a better executive. One element of efficiency in such a ministry is tact and kindness; and tact and kindness are breathed by supernatural charity, which again is nurtured by prayer.

So too in education. One element of secular education is the teaching of morality sufficient for purposes of this world. I once heard it said in a railway-carriage: "Board Schools do not teach manners,"<sup>1</sup> they do not teach that which Wykeham says "makyth man." No wonder if they do not, when manners, or morality, is cut in two, the secular half taken, and the religious half left. For more than a thousand years the wisdom of Christendom has invited the official teachers of religious morality,—the clergy, secular and regular, and I may add, in due subordination to the clergy, the regular Orders of women,—to teach morality as a whole, both for the life of the world to come and for this life. And having put so important an element of education in clerical and religious hands, Christians have invited priests and Religious to take over the other elements of education also, even the secular elements; in fact to turn schoolmasters. Education has not been made a clerical monopoly: it never ought to be so. Monopoly is the very thing we want cast out. We deprecate therefore any lay monopoly of education, with the clergy excluded. The days of clerical head-masters, we hope, are not going to be closed for ever.

The Church, I believe, will never view with equanimity the entire withdrawal of the clergy and the Religious Orders from the work of education and from works of charity. She will not acquiesce in the thorough secularization of school, hospital, and almshouse. And the Religious Orders will not acquiesce either. They may have to yield and retire from this country and from that, before the storm of tyrannical legislation. But wherever they find the market of education open, they will go in and compete. No persuasions, no smooth words, no suggestion of foreign missions and of an apostolate beyond the seas, will induce them to forego this home industry. A Religious Order is not an end in itself. If it becomes useless to the Church; still more, if it stands in the way of the progress of Messiah's Kingdom; let it be suppressed. But a good rule in life is, never to consider yourself useless: take between your teeth the good work you see before you, and hold on manfully, till either the dispensation of Providence or the voice of authority calls you off. Never resign of your own accord. To *be* resigned is the virtue of resignation: but to resign a post of much self-denial and small dignity merits

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written some eight years ago.

mention in the *Purgatorio* if not in the *Inferno* of some future Dante. Nor should we be too much afraid of 'economic laws' and other threatenings of the inevitable. Some of the best deeds in history have been done by men who have resolved that, what their neighbours declared to be inevitable, should never come to pass.

Therefore Religious Orders, wherever the *ὕβρις* of legislation does not render their existence impossible, will continue to educate the young and to serve the sick and destitute.

JOSEPH RICKABY.

### *The Stonyhurst Rubens.*

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AMONG the many valuable treasures, literary and artistic, that enrich the private galleries of Stonyhurst College, there is a picture by Peter Paul Rubens which deserves to be numbered amongst the very great works of art. This picture, which, according to the large label pendant to the frame, represents four Doctors of the Church, is comparatively hidden away, and to some extent overlooked in the busy activity of the famous Catholic public school. It has not been exhibited in any public gallery, and has received no more attention than a brief notice communicated to the College Magazine, and the passing admiration of a chance artist visitor; while the present is the first occasion on which it has been reproduced for publication.

That the picture is a genuine Rubens has never been questioned. As such it has been bought and sold, and valued for legacy purposes in comparatively recent times. And the internal evidence of its authenticity is sufficiently strong to convince the most sceptical. The colour, the virile drawing, particularly of the magnificent heads, and the grandeur of the design all testify to the art of the wonderful Antwerp master and to none other. There is evidence indeed of other hands in some portions of the picture. In the lower drapery especially, there are signs of a less dexterous, less fluent brush. But the same thing is true of most of the pictures which issued from Rubens' studio.

But the fact that the picture is a genuine Rubens, and is moreover an admirable and almost unique specimen of his art, has not sufficed to render the picture saleable. There is no market, it would seem, for Rubens, especially for such a subject and so large a canvas.

Times have changed since Rubens painted, and nowadays we are wont to set more store by the personal or temperamental element in art. The view that art is life seen through a



temperament has become so exaggerated that more importance is often attached to the temperament than to the presentment of life it colours. The expression of the individuality of the artist, instead of being a necessary and natural concomitant of art, seems to have become its main objective. So that to us who seek first of all in art a revelation of the personality of the artist, there is necessary some adjustment of point of view before we can altogether sympathize with Rubens' work. For neither in object nor in method was it calculated to display that intimate personal feeling by which we are nowadays attracted. In the main his work is decorative, and to its completion many other hands than his contributed. The designs were his, as were the dexterous, vivifying final touches, but much at least of the intermediate work was done by his students. And so perhaps it is that while we feel Rubens' extraordinary power and energy and facility, the wealth and vigour of his imagination, the exuberance of his vitality, only rarely, and then only perhaps in his portraits, do we get near to the man himself.

The main facts of Rubens' life are well known. He was born probably at Siegen, in Westphalia, in 1577, and was educated by the Jesuits at Cologne, where his family had settled. On leaving school he became a page of honour in the household of the Countess of Lalaing. But this, his first experience of Court life, of which later he was to see so much, can have been of only short duration, for in 1591, at the age of fourteen, he entered upon his studies as a painter under Tobias Verhaeght. Later on he entered the studio of Van Noort, the master of Jordaens; afterwards and chiefly he studied under Van Veen. With the last-named he remained some four years, and it was as a pupil of Van Veen's that he had his first experience of festal decorations, a kind of work in which he later excelled. This was on the occasion of the entry of Isabella, daughter of Philip II. of Spain, and her husband Albert into Antwerp, whither they came in 1599, to assume the sovereignty of Spanish Flanders. From Van Veen, too, who was a learned and courtly painter, he is deemed to have gained his knowledge of and fondness for classical myth and allegory.

R. A. M. Stevenson thus describes the Rubens of those days :

In appearance he was large and fair, with that mixture of swagger and refinement one often remarks in the heads of artists. He had bold features with the gentle, bovine eye that he liked to bestow on

the personages of his pictures. His looks altogether were such as might recommend him anywhere, not least amongst the great; since the original nobility of Northern Europe came for the most part from big-made, light-haired and sanguine races. Nor were his manners likely to shake the confidence inspired by his looks. Probably even in youth he was not one to wear his heart upon his sleeve, to babble in low company, or to miss the right measure of reserve and openness, dignity, and respect, in his attitude towards those of rank or reputation. Moreover he was accomplished; he spoke and wrote Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, besides Flemish and Spanish. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In 1600—but in what circumstances is not certainly known—he entered the service of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and remained there till 1608. During this time he travelled much in Italy, and once, at least, he went to Spain, and spent a whole year in Madrid. Thus in the years of a man's life which are the most impressionable, the most assimilative, he became familiar with the work of the great Italian painters. He copied their pictures, and imitated their style. The vigour of his design owes something, there can be no doubt, to the mighty genius of Michael Angelo. His decorative skill, it has been said, suggests the influence of Titian, his colour that of Giulio Romano.

But his Italian career was cut short by the death of his mother in 1608. He returned to Flanders, and though it would seem that his original intention was to go back to Italy, in Flanders he remained. For Isabella and Albert, perceiving his growing reputation, prevailed upon him to enter their service. Thereafter Rubens was a royal painter, "having the rights, honours, privileges, exemptions, &c., of persons belonging to the royal household." He settled in Antwerp, building himself there a kind of Italian palace, wherein he housed the artistic treasures collected in Italy; and it was in Antwerp that the next ten or twelve comparatively quiet and most prolific years were spent. Gradually he asserted his position as head of a school of painting; gradually artists of repute came to his studio to work under him. He established a kind of picture-factory, becoming, as R. A. M. Stevenson says, a sort of *entrepreneur* of large jobs of decoration. His fame spread, and commissions poured into that Antwerp picture-factory of his more quickly than they could be dealt with. In 1622 Rubens was called to Paris to undertake the decoration of the Luxembourg Palace, and his

<sup>1</sup> *Peter Paul Rubens.* By R. A. M. Stevenson, Portfolio Monographs, 1898 Edition, p. 16.

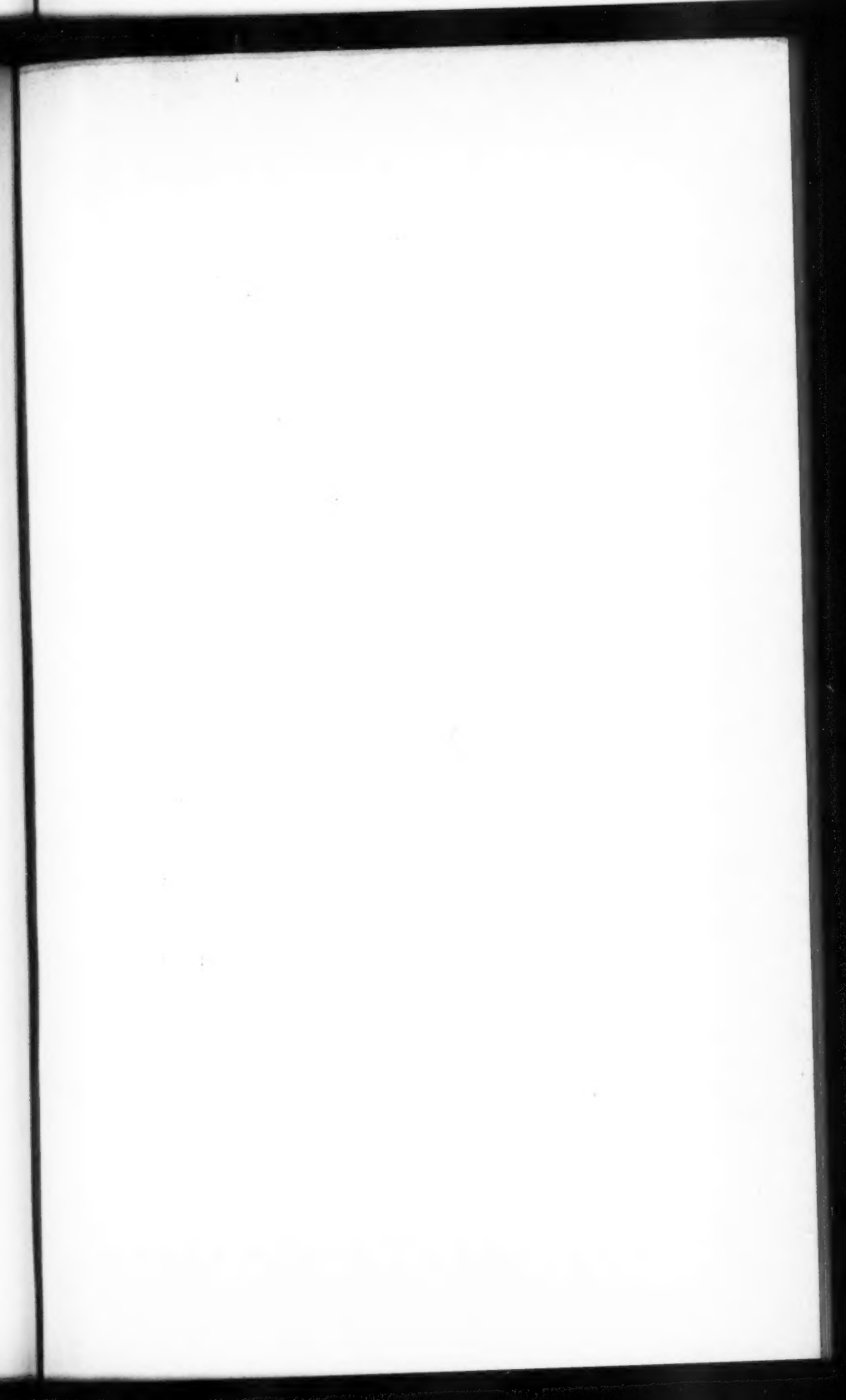
journeyings between Paris and Antwerp in that connection marked the beginning of a period of travel.

In those days artists were convenient emissaries between Court and Court, and were often employed in an ambassadorial capacity. For they could be sent ostensibly as the conveyers of presents in the form of artistic treasures, and, when they were discreet and personable men, could use that office as a cloak to a more important political mission. Rubens' personal qualities, we must believe, would eminently recommend him for such a purpose, and in the next few years he was frequently so employed. He was sent to Spain, and to England, and again to Spain. In Madrid he met Velasquez—then about thirty years old—at the beginning of his splendid but slowly maturing powers.

But these diplomatic missions, while they served to show the esteem in which Rubens was held by his royal masters, and were indeed in one instance at least attended with some measure of success, were not altogether conducive to his peace of mind. With something of bitterness, perhaps, he returned after a time to his painting—which indeed he had never altogether neglected—and in his last years there was no diminution in his extraordinary productivity. He died in 1640 at the age of sixty-three—working to the last.

Rubens' work is viewed by different people with strangely conflicting feelings. There can be no doubt that his influence upon modern painting has been far-reaching in its effect. Some have not hesitated to regard him as the Father of Modern Painting, and have traced his influence upon Watteau and Fragonard, and upon Reynolds and Gainsborough. Some, on the other hand, are frankly disgusted by the coarseness of his types and the kind of exuberant animalism that pervades his work. There have been protests against his "coarse allegories" and the "historical improprieties" in, for instance, the series of designs done for Marie de Medici. Even his popularity has been used against him, and attributed to the fact that he is so easily intelligible. And then again much of his work is so *obviously* decorative in aim that it is easy to regard it as *merely* decorative.

But the fairest and perhaps wisest view is to regard him simply as a man of the world and as a man of his time. Being what he was, it is to little purpose that we should blame him for not being what he was not and could not be. His energy,





THE FOUR DOCTORS

Peter Paul Rubens







his invention, and his skill were beyond all praise. His sense of life, his interest in life, his knowledge of life, so far as the interest and knowledge of a man of the world go, make him, there can be little room for doubt, one of the greatest of painters. It is true that there is in his work something coarse, voluptuous, animal, though that perhaps is attributable rather to the race from which he sprang than to his personality. It is true that he seems almost entirely lacking in spirituality. Ruskin says of him that "he is without any clearly perceptible trace of a soul, except when he paints his children;"<sup>1</sup> and one is almost tempted to agree that even that is true. Rubens is theatrical, rhetorical often—even that most popular and interesting of his pictures—the "Descent from the Cross"—must be so characterized, but he is rarely poetical or spiritual. In fact the man was no visionary, but a man of the world, glorying in the world's pride and pomp and circumstance. For the rest he was large-minded, and in the ways of the world wise; and his powers were splendid.

But in this picture at Stonyhurst College, the picture of the four Doctors, there is, as we think, and as we hope to show, a depth of meaning and spiritual insight, which should make us modify in some measure this general estimate of Rubens. The meaning is not on the surface and will assuredly be missed by those whose artistic instinct is satisfied by a picture's mere appearance, mere "look." And it may be doubted if, generally, any other explanation of the picture is either forthcoming or required than that offered by the pendant label. The picture represents four Doctors of the Church, and to those who are satisfied with so much, it represents no more.

But Rubens surely wished the picture to convey something more than that. These four Doctors, with their strongly-charactered faces, their different and contrasting expressions—albeit the picture has rather more of reserve and simplicity than we commonly associate with Rubens—form in fact a very dramatic group. They seem to be engaged in some all-absorbing discussion. It is inconceivable that Rubens did not mean us to know not only who they were but also why they were thus brought together.

And who indeed are these four great Doctors of the Church? The answer to that is not difficult. That there may not be any

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Painters*, vol. v. part ix. chap. vi.

doubt as to their identity, Rubens has taken care to introduce by the side of each the authentic symbol which marks his characteristic attribute. Thus the lion is the approved emblem of St. Jerome. Who first assigned it to him it is impossible to say, but its appropriateness has secured its acceptance. It fittingly represents St. Jerome's strong, stern, fervid nature, the massiveness alike of his mind and of his bodily frame. There is, too, a legend which tells of the Saint's helping a wounded lion, which in gratitude remained ever afterwards faithful to him in his desert life.

The symbol of the beehive is associated with St. Ambrose. The story is told of him, as, indeed, of several other saints, not to say poets, that when he was a child a swarm of bees lighted upon his lips, a prophecy, as it was deemed, of his future eloquence.

The burning heart is a token of charity, the virtue so characteristic of St. Augustine's teaching and practice that it has become the heraldic device of Augustinian communities. And the dove is the emblem of St. Gregory. Peter, his deacon and scribe, tells us that while he was dictating his discourses the appearance of a dove hovered above his head. We have, then, in this picture the four pre-eminent Doctors of the Western Church, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory the Great.

So much of the significance of the picture is on the surface, and may readily be ascertained. The four Doctors can be identified, the four actors in this pictorial drama can be named at least.

But the drama itself, what is it? It cannot represent an actual event, any historical scene, seeing that St. Gregory lived some 200 years after the other three, who were indeed more or less contemporaries, but who certainly never sat together thus in common counsel. The meaning of the picture, then, if meaning there be, must be sought not in the world of physical fact, but elsewhere in the world of thought. Illustrating no actual occurrence, telling no story of bygone days, the picture may yet be the dramatic presentation of some ultra-sense reality, the visible embodiment of some truth, the expression, in the symbols of action, form, and colour, of some idea too subtle perhaps for the more limited symbols of speech. If this be so, then the historic personages in the picture will stand as representatives, as types, each of his own characteristic temperament and individual gift.

What then can be this truth, this idea, lying at the back of the composition, and bringing these several saints of diverse times together? If they were simply passively standing in a row, or walking in procession, as in another of Rubens' pictures, we should say they were grouped together as the representative teachers of the Church. And there would be no more to say. But here we have them active, energetic, engaged with one another within the picture in mutual earnest intercourse. They are not here detached, isolated figures of the saints set up for the people's worship, they are living men taking part in some momentous discussion, influencing one the other, and fired by a common enthusiasm. What thought, what idea, had Rubens in his mind when he sketched these figures so vigorously, and grouped them thus, and put such life into the gestures, such varied emotion into the faces? That the artist must have had some guiding thought seems evident. How otherwise could he have worked, how determined the interplay of action, how conceived these seven expressive faces, all different, yet all in place? But does the composition itself, taken as a whole, suggest this thought; do its details bear it out? Does it more than suggest? Does it embody and proclaim a distinct idea? We think it does. And the key to the answer will be found not so immediately in the chief figures as in the attendant angels.

Almost in the centre of the picture and at its highest point there is a burning heart, the emblem of St. Augustine. It is held high, as it seems triumphantly, by a little cherub, eager and inspirited. Notice the tension of his arm, how forcibly it is stretched upwards to place the heart conspicuously aloft; how his eyes, smiling and exulting, look out to greet the spectator; how his right hand points with verve and emphasis down towards the book which St. Augustine holds upon St. Jerome's knee. Is not this three-fold action expressive and significant? is it not compelling when once the eye has caught that speaking glance which seems to say, "Look! notice 'the burning heart'! 'the inspired Book'!" while the action brings the two together.

See in the picture how the eye is carried down from the burning heart by hand under hand, till it rests where the four down-pointing fingers meet the upturned hands that hold the book so naturally. St. Augustine is obviously, though unobtrusively, making some explanation of things still hidden from the intellectual and learned, throwing light upon obscure mysteries that knowledge has failed to fathom.

Over St. Jerome's face there spreads a smile of awakening insight and recognition, a wonderful and softening smile of satisfaction upon a hard intellectual face.

It is in this enlightenment of St. Jerome that we must see the central thought of the picture. For the smile on St. Jerome's face, the triumphant angel, and that striking cascade of hands, and the tamed and dormant lion, taken together are the picture's most salient and arresting details. It is to them that the eye naturally turns; it is upon them in their conjunction that the eye naturally rests.

What do they mean then? What and whence is this new light which has come to St. Jerome?

St. Jerome, as we know, was a man of learning and intellectual strength. He is typical of the power of mind, of hard strong thought, of the cold light of reason. Yet this picture would seem to say that learning and intellectual force, however great, have need of another guidance and teacher, of another light; that of themselves they may leave the soul in darkness, that alone they are not equal to reading aright the Gospel of God.

It is left to St. Augustine, the embodiment of the power of charity, whose quiet, serene face is half hidden in the shadow—a significant and beautiful touch—to make all things clear in the warm glow of love.

This then, it would seem, is the ground-thought of the picture, the message which the triumphant angel proclaims to the world: that Augustine has discovered the truth; that Charity is the supreme interpreter of the Divine Word, the great unpretending power which understandeth all things. *Tanta charitatis vis est, ut caelo latiore faciat animam*—"So great is the force of charity that it maketh the soul to encompass the infinite"—or as our modern poet sings:

Of the heart comes love, of the heart and not the brain;  
To heights where thought comes not can love attain.

Learning without charity, so says this picture, is unavailing; the word of God can be compassed only by love, humble, self-effacing love, that half-hides in the shadow. It tells us that religious truth, when mastered by the mind, must be transferred from the brain to the "burning heart"—must be changed from thought to love. Until it is loved it cannot be completely understood.

But it is not alone with learning that charity is here contrasted. St. Gregory and St. Ambrose, with their attendant

angels, are also important parts of the scheme. St. Gregory is obviously the type of prudence and inerrancy. He is shown with a restraining hand upon St. Ambrose, who, half-rising in his eagerness, seems to be urging some argument upon him. St. Ambrose is all life and movement, leaning forward, straining his neck in his eloquent emotion. St. Gregory, on the other hand, is calm, but not with the repose which marks St. Augustine. There is inquiry in his eyes, as of one who looks at a problem not yet solved. He is uncertain but cautious, and not to be led astray. Between the two the dove hovers, St. Gregory's safeguard against undue persuasion.

For St. Ambrose is the type of eloquence, of oratory, emotional and soul-stirring, of honeyed speech, of the persuasive power of words. And look now at his attendant angel. He is oppressed by the weight of his beehive, so that his arms alone cannot support it, and he has to rest it on his upraised knee. And his eyes meanwhile are turned towards St. Ambrose with a look of distress and pity. His sad face expresses disappointment. He is thinking, it seems, how treacherous is this gift of honeyed speech, this fervid eloquence with which even now St. Ambrose is being carried away.

It would appear, then, that Rubens in this picture has painted these four great Doctors of the Church, not with the view of telling us anything of the men themselves, but in order to contrast dramatically certain types of character, certain qualities of life. He is not dealing with the saints as men, as concrete persons, but as abstract idealizations. Each is made the personification of his own characteristic gift, and of that gift exclusively, in order that the gifts personified may be compared and valued and their relative importance declared. Though it is indeed a fact that each of these great saints was distinguished for the quality that he here personifies, and that is so convincingly depicted on the countenance of each, yet it is not true that they were wanting in the other qualities. They were all, though not all equally, learned, eloquent, prudent, and fulfilled with charity. But a picture cannot tell everything, and it is best when it tells us one thing, especially if it declares that one thing in such a way that no other art can rival it, or tell it better. That, I think, is the case here, and the truth made evident in this great mystical allegory is that while Eloquence is soul-stirring and emotional, and Prudence safe, and Learning curious and critical, yet may they each and all fall short of truth

for want of the saving insight that comes with Love. Truly this is a great thought, a truth that could not be so adequately expressed by human speech as here by the painter's art. To state it in words seems to spoil it, to limit and debase it. It must be seen in the picture, in the faces of the Doctors, in the expression of the cherubs, in the unity of the whole. As we look the mind is made aware of a deep truth, elusive and mystic, that is always being overlooked or set aside; of an occult power in the world of thought; of the illuminative efficacy of self-effacing love. It is a truth that covers a multitude of experiences, and explains a thousand mysteries in every relation of actual life, no less than in religion.

This painting shows Rubens in an unusual, almost we might say, unsuspected light.<sup>1</sup> He is not here the painter, as he too often was, of inept conventional symbols that borrow their meaning from literature and speech, but the exponent of a great reality, invisible and illusive, that moves and rules the highest life of man. The "Burning Heart" and the word "Charity" are indeed its symbols, but the picture as a whole is its expression and its praise—a mystical allegory far deeper and wider and more concise than words can utter.

Worldly as Rubens was, coarse and sensual as he seems to some, here at least he has struck a profound and religious note. "And the greatest of these is Charity." Charity, that has the promise of forgiveness in it! The world which Rubens knew would set more store, it may be guessed, by Learning and Oratory and Prudence. For these are qualities that may be seen and gauged; they live in the world's light, and must have appealed directly to the worldly-wise mind of Rubens himself. That Rubens could show so well that there was one thing better than these, greater and more potent, which yet could not be seen and gauged, which lived in the world's shadow, need not surprise us—for how should we presume to know the whole Rubens—but it adds an additional interest to this picture. For Rubens loved the world and the world's light, and was the most rhetorical of painters.

W. P. BAINES.

<sup>1</sup> The story told of the painting of the famous "Descent from the Cross" furnishes another example of Rubens' subtlety of symbolism. The picture was painted for a local guild who desired a representation of their patron, St. Christopher. Rubens, in answer to their expostulations, said that these were the true Christophers—the Christ-bearers,—who bore the Body of Christ down from the Cross and carried it to the tomb. On the outside of the panel-shutter that folds over the picture, he subsequently painted St. Christopher carrying the Child Christ.

## *Italy and the Counter-Reformation.*<sup>1</sup>

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BUT a few years ago the term "Counter-Reformation" was unknown in our Catholic hand-books. Though we have of late wisely taken it over from our Protestant contemporaries as a recognized word which has come to stay, we cannot but remember that it does not, after all, give a very felicitous description of the great Catholic revival. That revival did not begin after the Protestant Reformation, as Counter-Reformation suggests, but before. The movement which inspired Luther was a Catholic movement, it only became heretical after he had broken away from the Church. Again, the greatest names in the Catholic revival, such as Saints Ignatius, Teresa, and Philip Neri, were either never in contact with Protestantism at all, or only became opposed to it after they had set their respective reforms in motion. The term Counter-Reformation expresses part, and indeed a very marvellous part, of the great revival which, when considered in all its circumstances, must be pronounced one of the most striking proofs known to us of God's providence in ruling His Church. By all means let us keep the word, so long as we understand the thing<sup>2</sup> aright.

Father Venturi's eventual object, as his title-page sets forth, is to write the history of the Jesuits in Italy: and to do this with scientific thoroughness it was necessary *in limine*

<sup>1</sup> *La Vita Religiosa in Italia durante la prima età della Compagnia di Gesù*, descritta dal Pietro Tacchi Venturi, d.m.C., con Appendice di documenti inediti. Roma (Voghera), 1910, pp. 719, with portraits, facsimiles, &c. 15 francs.

<sup>2</sup> Father Venturi writes thus of the effect of the Reformation on the Church in Italy: "It produced a renewal of spiritual life, not indeed in its inmost sources [which did not need reform], but in all those religious practices which make spiritual life fruitful, vigorous, and capable of bringing men to eternal life. . . . This does not mean that religious life in Italy would never have acquired new vigour but for the Protestant Reformation. . . . But we may well believe that the corruptions prevalent in the first half of the sixteenth century would not even have begun to diminish in the second half, had it not been for the terrible danger that threatened from the north. The immensity of the peril, the imperiousness of the call to safeguard the integrity of their Faith, and to re-enkindle the fire of piety, were then borne in upon the Catholics, and vividly appreciated by them when they saw themselves marked out as a prey by the Reformers, who however in this over-estimated their power, and ignored the providence of God in regard to our country." (Pp. 348—350.)



to describe the state of Italy when their work of reformation began; for it was the condition and needs of the country which determined the character of the work undertaken by the new Order. Such a description could not possibly be completed in a few pages, or even in a few chapters. Abuses, and especially clerical abuses, of which there were confessedly many in sixteenth-century Italy, are "kittle cattle," as the Scotch say. The more you force the pace, the slower your eventual progress. If you are too smart or laconic in describing abuses, you may give a wholly false impression of them, for they cannot be rightly conceived and judged unless they are set forth and studied together with the circumstances amid which they grew up. Not less than a volume was required to state with sufficient clearness and detail the condition of the society, into which the early Jesuits were thrown, and the rival influences which there made for good and for evil. Italy then consisted of a variety of States which had advanced to very different degrees of culture. While one had fallen into this prevalent vice, another, perhaps, had risen to no small height of education or good government. The advent of the pagan Renaissance, the permanence of feudal customs and of mediæval ideas among peoples so strongly conservative as Italians, had led to the strangest combinations of happy survivals with inveterate evils. It is often necessary to go far, far afield to find the explanation of anomalies which here present themselves at every turn. Indeed, on the whole, our complaint is not that the author has extended a preliminary inquiry too far, but that he has not gone far enough back to account for certain strange situations, the existence of which he is content to chronicle without further explanation as to their origin. To this we shall return in the sequel.

The history begins, as was inevitable, with that of the Popes. Father Venturi concludes that the first real step upwards towards reform, was the election of Paul III. in 1534, and his creation of Cardinals in 1535 (Blessed John Fisher was one of them), who were men truly eminent for learning and holiness of life. From that time onwards the tone of the Sacred College began to rise, and with it, of course, the level of the Papal Curia and Papal government. This, however, is a matter which our author can pass over compendiously, knowing that it will receive adequate treatment in the forthcoming volumes of Dr. Ludwig Pastor.

We then review the state of the clergy, secular and regular, and here the picture of ignorance and disorder is extremely sad. While learning had made such progress in the universities, courts, and cities, nothing whatever had been done to raise the standard of training and education among the parochial or country clergy, or in the smaller convents and abbeys. The low levels which had prevailed in the ages of barbarism, remained in the country villages, the small towns, and even in the poor districts of cities, where high civilization reigned in favoured places.

Let us take as an example the illustrious and cultured city of Naples. The visitation of the clergy carried out there in 1558, could not have been conducted on more moderate lines. Before receiving permission to celebrate the Divine mysteries, the clergy had to pass examiners, who were to attest that they had received Orders both validly and licitly, and had the capacity to make good use of their priestly powers. Inquiry was also made into their acquirements, beginning with the first step, whether they knew how to read. Yet one of the examiners, Father Christopher Mendoza, reported afterwards to his Superior, Father Laynez: "This I can inform you, that the ignorance we found was extraordinary. If we had adopted a rigid standard, we should have rejected eight out of ten. But seeing the standards that prevail, we have taken a middle course. . . ."

It may seem almost incredible to us that priests should have been ordained, who were not even able to read the missal. Yet such there were, and the examiners suspended them from celebrating. . . . Those who could read a little, though not correctly, were allowed to go on celebrating; but under condition of learning better, and of coming up for further examination later on.

Examples are given of a similar state of things at Monreale, in 1549, and at Palermo, in 1574. In Lanciano, Cività, Castellana ed Orte, matters were even worse. Some priests did not know the catechism, some could not pronounce correctly the words of consecration. With ignorance came unfitness for the confessional, and, as might be expected, the lowest standards of priestly decorum and morality.

It is a deplorable picture, but we must be on our guard against generalizing too broadly, even from a large body of unfavourable evidence. For it must be remembered that there is also a considerable number of facts that tell the other way. Padre Venturi notes the very significant fact that nearly all the great Catholic reformers of the time began by aspiring to the secular priesthood. Not only were men of exemplary piety

and innocence always to be found here and there all through the ranks of the clergy, but even when times were darkest, when it seemed that all the greater institutions, the Bishops, the richer Canons, the large well-to-do churches, and religious communities, were sunk in mere spiritless formalism, ceremonies, worldliness, and worse—the brighter spots were the little unnoticed chapels and oratories, where some zealous priest was founding pious guilds and confraternities, and keeping alive in those with whom he was thrown, the old spirit of faith and piety. It is in the nature of things that such men should not be much spoken of outside their own circles, and that they should leave when they die, few, if any, records of their holy activity. Yet, our historian points to traces of so many, that we are justified in thinking that their proportion to the whole may really have been considerable.

The state of the regular clergy and of the nuns was also dark in the extreme. It was not that the Orders were universally bad, but that the black sheep were abnormally numerous and painfully conspicuous. The sources of trouble were much the same as are well known to us, through having been so potent for the collapse of the Church in Scotland. The feudal lords and tyrants, whose absolutism and violence was nowhere worse than in Italy, had intruded illegitimate children into sacred offices, and posts of ecclesiastical authority. They frequently forced unmarried daughters into convents. Indeed, it seems that it was notorious that this was not seldom done, from mere motives of economy, to avoid the necessity of giving them dowries if they married. Then, too, the quasi-traffic in dispensations for visiting enclosed convents, in permitting which the worldly-minded curialists were far too lax, was a potent cause of the introduction of worldly ideas within the convent walls, and of the loss of the love of retirement and prayer. We all remember how strong were the complaints of St. Teresa over abuses of this nature prevalent in Spain.

Perhaps the gloomiest page in the whole book is that which describes, in the words of the future Pope, Paul IV., the terrible plague of apostate monks and friars which infested so many towns of Italy. Their numbers were considerable, and their power for evil appalling. Unable to find other work, they frequently took the place of curates and vicars where the benefice-holder was an absentee, and in their new position they would spread far and wide among the faithful that railing spirit,

that cynic scepticism, that lax morality, which have ever been the characteristics of those who desert the banner of religious perfection after having voluntarily vowed a life-long attachment to it.<sup>1</sup>

Yet in the convents, too, there was good seed in plenty ready to shoot up, to flower and fructify, as soon as better discipline should remove the rank weeds that overgrew those "gardens enclosed." The ease with which reform was introduced, when once it was zealously taken in hand, shows that it was not the institutions that were in fault, but that a general laxity was prevalent throughout all grades of society, and being specially prevalent in the rulers of both Church and State, infected even those who, under normal circumstances, should be most free from administrative and moral corruption.

It is a relief to turn away from these sad pages, and the equally depressing chapter on the Italian episcopacy, to the section which describes the state of clerical studies at this period. Father Venturi's conclusion is that low as was the level of education and culture among the ranks of the lesser clergy, the university class, the professors, canonists, and ecclesiastical writers were not inferior to that which one might have expected at that period. Though the classical Renaissance did not immediately assist theology and the kindred sciences, though on the contrary Erasmus and his school indulged in a good deal of mockery at Canon Law, Scholasticism, and "the old *mumpsinus*," a reaction among Catholic scholars was not long in making itself felt. "Sacred studies, considered as a whole, were making good progress, when regard is had to the standards of the age."

Four chapters (xiv. to xvii. inclusive) are devoted to the subject of preaching, instruction, retreats, and catechizing. Here again, the effect of the classical Renaissance was not at first helpful, for it made the audiences critical and impatient before the preachers learnt to modify their mediæval ways. Father Venturi has some strange stories from Lancelotti, a chronicler of Modena.

Fra Giovanni da Fano, notwithstanding his high reputation as an orator, received one day a solemn signal to stop (*un solenne basta*) from the priests on the altar, who began to bang their stalls, and to sing Mass before the preacher had concluded. The annalist, an honest man, and sincerely attached to the interests of the Church, declares that their

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 46—49.

object, that is to make Fra Giovanni stop, was praiseworthy. Had it not been for the energetic means employed, he might have protracted his interminable sermon for a couple of hours more!

Three other examples are given of the same kind, which show beyond doubt that many of the old school of preachers were hopelessly out of touch with the new spirit of culture and criticism. On the other hand, these antiquated lecturers were never happy until they had plunged into all the most recent controversies, which they of course handled very inefficiently, lapsing into debates and disputations, which suggested more doubts than were resolved.

However, there was no real danger of the continuance of abuses like this, which annoyed every one. Precepts and orders from Popes and Bishops are cited to show that the reform of this bad custom was not lost sight of—and eventually several new departures were made. Sermons were shortened, but made frequent and regular, and a less formal method of address introduced, which we now sometimes call “conferences,” sometimes “exhortations.” St. Philip Neri went furthest in the reaction from the old, wearisome, long harangues of the Middle Ages, for he introduced merely conversational instructions as a regular means of teaching and exhorting the faithful. These would be given sitting down on the steps outside the church, as people came up and strolled away, or perhaps sitting on the side of his bed, when his room was filled with afternoon callers. St. Ignatius and his companions from the very first, even before they settled on uniting themselves into a Religious Order, had resolved to devote themselves to the instruction of the ignorant, and to make this one of their distinctive *opere pie*. In 1540, St. Ignatius, though his Italian was most indifferent, taught catechism to children in the chapel of Sta. Maria della Strada on forty-six successive days, after he had been appointed to the very laborious post of General of the Order. There are perhaps no pages in Padre Venturi's book which are more edifying and instructive than those which describe the results of the propaganda of catechizing which the sons of Ignatius carried on unremittingly in accordance with their founder's directions.

The account of the catechism at Catanzaro in 1568, will delight all those who know how to admire the genuine piety and devotion of the Italian townsman and peasant. Almost all the children of the district joined the procession which started from

the Jesuits' church to the grand piazza. First came the well-dressed scholars of the Jesuit college, who comprised in their ranks all the boys of good birth in the neighbourhood, and then "a great army" of town and country children, marshalled by two Jesuit lay-Brothers; one and all with their hands folded and eyes cast down, fully conscious of the serious religious duty on which they were engaged. In the piazza there were not less than twelve sections at which catechism was recited, explained, and even sung to music; while the whole town and country flocked round to enjoy the sight. Monsignor the Bishop was on his balcony, every window was occupied, mothers were crying with delight at the successful answers of their little ones. At the end little prizes for good behaviour and correct answers. "*Laus Deo*," concludes Padre Biondi, the narrator, "I doubt if for this people anything more useful or more agreeable could be conceived."

It should be added that simple as were these catechetical exercises, they were most carefully rehearsed beforehand. One example is given of the Fathers of a community, beginning with the Rector himself, reciting in turn the catechism aloud during meals, so that all might give identical answers; for in those early days the forms of question and answer had not yet taken a fixed and definite form.

Father Venturi gives us some very interesting information about Italian catechisms, before those of Canisius and Rome, but he should, perhaps, have dwelt more upon the influence of Catholic Germany in the development of the great catechetical meetings such as that described above. It certainly seems that they had been introduced in the North, before they are found in the Southern peninsula.

It may perhaps be permitted to the present writer to correct here an erroneous tradition about the preaching of the first Jesuits. He has heard it stated by teachers, who were otherwise accurate scholars, that the early preachers owed much of their success to the use of the double pulpit; one preacher stating the erroneous arguments and conclusions of the Protestants, which were thereupon answered by the second preacher. In Italy of a later century this took the form of a dialogue, now well-known under the name of *L'Ignorante*. To judge, however, from the exhaustive studies of Father Duhr and Father Venturi, the use of the double pulpit was, to say the least, not a primitive custom in the Society. When and where "the Ignoramus" came

to the fore, we shall no doubt hear in subsequent volumes of these histories. Meanwhile it is already time to deprive him of his claim to antiquity.

Of all sections in Padre Venturi's volume, that upon the cultus of the Blessed Sacrament<sup>1</sup> will seem to most readers the most complete and agreeable. Not only is the subject full of mysterious charm, but the historical treatment has this advantage that it begins from the beginning of the tendency to frequent Communion and carries on the account until the practice of frequent (though naturally not yet of daily) Communion was thoroughly established. The violence, barbarity, and moral decay amid which the middle ages so unfortunately closed, could not fail of course to have a very bad effect upon the reverence due to churches in general. Not only were sanctuaries violated, robbed, and burned in time of war, the abuses prevalent in time of peace were often very disgraceful. Even in this comparatively cool and staid country the prevalence of mystery plays, church ales, and other rude forms of amusement in or near the church, led at times to serious abuses, and we cannot wonder that the warm-blooded southerners sometimes ran to still greater excesses. In point of fact, whatever the explanation may be, the abuses in Italy seem to have been far worse in the early sixteenth century than anything we read of in our domestic annals. Neglect and profanation were painfully common, and the sacred buildings, cloisters, and purlieus, were used for all sorts of business, for law proceedings, meetings, promenades and merry-making. An example is quoted of games, inside the church of SS. Apostoli in Rome, where *inter alia* a pig was hung up from the roof-timbers to be jumped for by youthful competitors. Such feasts were no doubt of ancient origin, and might once have amused without shocking a half-barbarous people. But in the Italy of the sixteenth century they could not continue without gravely scandalizing or depraving a more cultured generation. It goes without saying that observance of the Divine mysteries and of the Holy Sacrament could not have been reverential, and was, in fact, neither frequent nor edifying.

Low-water mark in the frequency of Communion is marked by the well-known decree of the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1215. It was then found necessary to impose Communion at Easter on all under pain of excommunication.

Early in the next century Clement V. made monthly Com-

<sup>1</sup> Chapters x.—xiii.



munions a matter of obligation for all monks, but for the faithful in general even zealous reformers only aimed at three Communions a year, at the "Three Paschs" of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. There were indeed some, and they of great name, as St. Thomas Aquinas and Thomas à Kempis, who taught that a still greater frequency was desirable, but in practice it would seem that even exemplary laymen did not go more often than thrice a year. The primitive rule, for instance, of the well-known Third Order of St. Francis, and the constitutions of other pious sodalities of that day, do not prescribe more. Father Venturi, it may be remarked in passing, is unusually well versed in the rules and constitutions of these ancient guilds and confraternities, and prints those of the *Confraternità del Divino Amore*, in an appendix.

The same degree of frequency, with hardly any change, continued until the advent of the new Orders in the sixteenth century. These soon began to influence public opinion, and a difference in the regulations of confraternities is at once perceived. We then find prescribed "at least four Communions a year, besides Easter and Christmas." Finally, when the first half of the sixteenth century had passed, the rule of Communion every month is found in seven confraternities that are named, and in a large number of branches and allied institutions. Moreover, at this time almost all the Third Orders, and gradually all convents of nuns, increased their Communions of Rule to once or twice a week. But this last step was not achieved without overcoming a good deal of opposition, partly from unreasoning, perhaps sluggish, conservatism, partly from active controversy. Against the first, the Jesuits, as we see from many letters of the time, set themselves zealously to work in the pulpit and out of it. One of the chief difficulties was that preachers and confessors of the old school were not at all shy of denouncing the new practice in the most vigorous terms. This led to a well-known controversy, of which many bibliographical details are here given.

That the new movement was chiefly due to the Theatines, Barnabites, Capuchins, Jesuits, and the other then newly-founded Orders of Clerks Regular, is curiously illustrated by the nickname of *Teatini* or *Teatine*, which was given, in contemporary Italian literature, to frequenters of the altar. Sometimes, too, they were called *Chietini*, after Chieti, where Gian Pietro Carafa, one of the founders of that Order, was born.

A topic which must not be passed over in silence is the Protestant propaganda in Italy during the sixteenth century. On this obscure and difficult subject, Father Venturi's full and definite information now sheds a clear and intelligible light. The secret propaganda of heretical ideas was generally carried on by the secret circulation of Protestant books, which Papal prohibitions, even under the pain of censure, were unable to stop. Then, too, there were "circles" of *literati*, some of whom were perhaps genuine heretics, while the others were fond of novelty, or disputation; others, so far as the Faith went, were sincere Catholics, but overbalanced by their zeal for the reform of defects in the government of the Church, which were, alas, everywhere conspicuous. These circles became more and more numerous and powerful. In fine, Father Venturi numbers twenty large towns of Italy which had become centres of Protestant propaganda, and there were not wanting preachers, who with subtle skill succeeded in sowing the seed of doubt in some, and in drawing others to assist in the circulation of heretical literature, or to join the secret coteries of the Lutherans. But nowhere did these new opinions take hold of the people itself or of its rulers. Except for one secluded valley in Piedmont, and one little corner of Calabria, the persons affected were single individuals, numerous indeed when all were counted together, but never united in any external body or society, never acquiring political power. As soon as the more relaxed Orders reformed themselves (and without apostates from those bodies the movement would never have had any force at all), as soon as the new spirit of the Counter-Reformation was felt in all ranks of the Church, the Lutheran movement soon ceased to exist.

It is with regret that we must leave unnoticed one half of this volume, the excellent collection of unpublished letters and documents. Many of these are extremely attractive. The letters of Father Suarez on his fidelity to Thomism, the depositions of Salmeron on the supposed heresies of Cardinal Moroni, the draft for the Bull of institution of the Society, with its important variants from the final text, all these are in a high degree provocative of thought and discussion, and we notice others hardly less interesting. The editing everywhere keeps to the highest standard, and the apparatus of introductions, notes, and index really leaves little if anything to be desired, while the price is quite phenomenally low.

Padre Venturi is to be commended for the boldness and clearness with which he has set before us a veracious and lively

picture of a period that was a crisis, not only for his own country, but also for the whole Church. It was of vital importance here to know the worst, and to know it from one of broad learning and in deep sympathy with his subject. This, the most important part of his task, has been admirably performed, where a weaker writer would have bewildered himself and his readers with endless explanations and excuses.

In one little point we should perhaps have preferred a little more consideration for our weakness. Our author proves to demonstration the existence of abuses, and corrupt practices, and is less concerned than we should have expected to explain the origin of this or that trouble. We feel keenly interested to know whether this or that bad custom was a mere survival of barbarism, or a new introduction of Renaissance luxury, or perhaps it was due to some civil revolution, or to some inveterate tyranny, or to the perennial wars between France and Germany. Such historical explanations would, we fancy, often form the best answer to the captious critics of Italy and her evils, who in truth have never been wanting, and are not likely to fail. But they are strangers or enemies, or out of sympathy with their subject, if not shallow, ignorant, and ill-informed, and their invectives will never bear comparison with the sane and sober judgments of Father Venturi. In any case he has by anticipation taken the sting out of their hostile attacks for a long time to come.

His work fills a great gap, and corrects the general impression that the reformation of abuses in Italy was well advanced before the middle of the sixteenth century. We all, of course, knew of the extravagances and corruptions of the pagan renaissance in Rome and in Italy; but the general impression produced, even by such writers as Cardinals Pallavicino, and Hergenröther, by von Hübner, and others, was that the evils were corrected soon after the Sack of Rome. There was nothing to prepare us for the abuses, the low levels, the crying need for reform, which prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the land for a whole generation later. There was by consequence no way of appreciating, as we may now appreciate, the spirit, the vigour, the methods, the labours of these great reformers, who made Italy of the late sixteenth century famous for all time in the religious history of the world. We look forward with pleasure to the next instalment of our historian's work, and we feel that we cannot augur for him a conclusion to his work more felicitous than its commencement.

J. H. POLLEN.

## *The Anglican Missions of the Georgian Era.*

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IN writing last month of the extraordinary injustice done of late to the Catholic missionary enterprise of former ages, we said nothing or next to nothing of those Anglican efforts in the same field which have been glorified by contrast with the supposed slackness of the Roman Church in the time of her peace and power. We hope that we shall not be misunderstood if in our present number we consider rather narrowly the claim of the English Establishment to be considered as a missionary Church during the eighteenth century. It is not our intention to depreciate honest effort wherever it may be found. Neither do we look for impossible standards of devotion in plain men who without being heroes have conscientiously tried to do their duty. None the less the Anglican claim to have laboured so long and consistently in savage lands for the conversion of the heathen, as it has repeatedly been advanced at the Church Pageant and elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> does not seem to be in accordance with the facts. Whatever may have been the earnestness of English missionaries during the Victorian era—and we do not wish to say anything here to their disparagement—we hold that when our Anglican friends talk of their two centuries of missionary enterprise they are simply appealing to the gallery, and to all intents and purposes talking nonsense. The zeal for the conversion of the heathen which is put forward as a permanent glory of the English Church from the days of William and Mary is in our judgment just as chimerical as the supposed apathy of mediæval Catholics. In any case some brief discussion of the subject in a more temperate tone perhaps than that of Marshall's

<sup>1</sup> There has been of late an almost continuous series of Protestant missionary exhibitions of various kinds. One that was not long ago held at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, has now been transplanted to Liverpool. Another, relating to the Congo, has just been opened at the Horticultural Hall, Vincent Square. In connection with nearly all these, claims are made which it is very difficult to reconcile with sober history.

*Christian Missions*,<sup>1</sup> may not be out of place at the present juncture.

To any one who reads the language used by Mr. Dearmer in the *Church Pageant Handbook* and in *Everyman's History of the English Church*,<sup>2</sup> it would be difficult to avoid drawing the conclusion, that the conversion of the heathen was the primary object of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." Not only does he speak of the restoration of missionary work as "the greatest revival of all," but he tells us that "the much-despised eighteenth century did this great thing—it joined hands with Patrick, Ninian, David, Augustine, and Boniface." This certainly implies that the sort of work undertaken by the S.P.G. was identical with that of Augustine and Boniface. Further, Mr. Dearmer says :

Just at the close of the seventeenth century, Dr. Thomas Bray, with some friends, founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was, from the first, a missionary society as well as a society to revive that work of teaching the people which had fallen so low since the Reformation. Shortly after, the indefatigable Dr. Bray, with the help of Archbishop Tenison and others, founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was the first great systematic missionary effort in the English Church since Anglo-Saxon times.<sup>3</sup>

The S.P.G. may have been "a systematic missionary effort," in the sense that such missionary work as it did was controlled and directed by a London committee, but if any one were to infer that the primary aim of the Society was to convert the heathen, he would be altogether at fault. At the beginning of the reign of George III. the precise position of the S.P.G. regarding missionary work came to be keenly debated, owing to the attacks of a New England Nonconformist, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew. The matter was considered of so much importance, that Mayhew's *Observations*<sup>4</sup> elicited a reply from no less a

<sup>1</sup> T. W. M. Marshall, *Christian Missions, their agents, their methods, and their results*. Brussels, 1862. 3 vols., and London, 1863, 2 vols. The substantial accuracy of the book is guaranteed by its consistent citation of authorities, but the controversial tone is often irritating. On the other hand it admirably sets forth the contrast presented by the Catholic missions, largely in the words of such writers as George Bancroft, Helps, and Washington Irving. We cannot treat of the triumphs of the Catholic missionaries in our present article, but must refer the reader to Marshall or to *The Jesuits in North America*, by the non-Catholic historian, Parkman.

<sup>2</sup> Some quotations were made from these in my last article.

<sup>3</sup> *Everyman's History of the English Church*, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the S.P.G.*, Boston, 1763. Also reprinted in London the same year.

personage than Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, though Secker's tract was at first published anonymously. Mayhew's complaint was that the missionaries of the S.P.G. instead of taking up their quarters upon the frontiers of civilization in the American colonies, and endeavouring to convert the Indians, established themselves in the settled towns, where they spent their time in trying to make Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Quakers attend their own Church of England services.<sup>1</sup>

It is notorious [he wrote] that the missionaries, instead of being sent to the frontier and other poor towns in New England, where the provision and accommodations for ministers were the meanest, have generally been stationed in the oldest, most populous, and richest towns, where the best provision was before made for ministers, where the public worship of God was constantly and regularly upheld, and His word and Sacraments duly administered according to the Congregational and Presbyterian modes.<sup>2</sup>

This Dr. Mayhew substantiates by facts and figures, pointing out in particular that though Dr. Bray, the founder of the S.P.G., had himself visited America, and declared that there was no need of missionaries in the American States north of New York,<sup>3</sup> by far the greater number of the S.P.G. "missionaries" were domiciled in those regions, living of course upon the salaries subscribed in England for the propagation of the Gospel. Further, Dr. Mayhew maintained that although in the charity sermons and appeals printed in connection with the S.P.G. much was made of the conversion of the heathen, this work was in practice almost entirely neglected.

Some essays they [the S.P.G.] have indeed made from time to time towards the conversion of the savages, but they seem to have been very faint and feeble, and with a sparing hand as to money, when compared with the goodness and importance of the work, with the difficulties to be expected in it, with the zeal of our French neighbours

<sup>1</sup> Mayhew even went so far as to maintain that the general level of religion and morality in New England was lowered by the presence of these envoys of the S.P.G., on account of the contentious spirit they introduced. But, of course, Mayhew wrote as a strong Nonconformist.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Mayhew, *Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the S.P.G.* London, 1763, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bray stated that from New York northwards he found very little need of missionaries for the propagation of Christianity, and in the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts none at all. (Dr. Bray's *Second Address*, p. 126.) But with regard to Dr. Bray, see further the "Flotsam and Jetsam" in this present number of *THE MONTH*, p. 424.

to christianize or rather *popize* the Indians, and even with their own zeal and expenses in order to *episcopize* the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of New England.<sup>1</sup>

He also declares that :

They [the Society] and their missionaries have frequently given to the world sufficiently pompous accounts of their efforts in order to the conversion of the Indians, not to say spoken somewhat hyperbolically of the real and great difficulties attending the work.<sup>2</sup>

Under these circumstances it is very interesting to consider the statements made in Archbishop Secker's reply. It is a very temperate and well-reasoned answer, but the facts which principally concern us here are not seriously disputed. To begin with, the Archbishop strongly takes up the ground that the conversion of the heathen was not the principal object of the foundation of the Society, a Society, it should be noticed, with which Secker had been closely connected. He appeals in particular to the preamble of the Charter of King William and Mary by which the Society was constituted and empowered to raise funds. In this there is certainly no word about the conversion of the pagans or missionary work properly so called. The whole document is concerned with the religious well-being of "our loving subjects" and "our people." For example :

Whereas we are credibly informed that in many of our plantations, colonies, and factories beyond seas, the provision for ministers is very mean and many others of our said plantations, colonies and factories, are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers and the public worship of God, and for the lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our loving subjects do want the administration of God's word and the sacraments and seem to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity, and also for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to Popish superstition and idolatry, &c.

The point of the document is that a sufficient maintenance is to be provided by charity for an "orthodox clergy" to "live among our loving subjects in the plantations," and the Charter herewith authorizes certain individuals to form themselves into a society for the administration of these funds. Archbishop Secker accordingly seems thoroughly justified in denying that the Society was unfaithful to its constitution and professions

<sup>1</sup> Mayhew, *Observations*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



because it sent the vast majority of its agents to reside in the more populous and civilized regions of the colonies, and he adopts for himself the principle which had been laid down by an American opponent of Dr. Mayhew, that the conversion of the Indians was only undertaken by the S.P.G. as a work of supererogation.

Now I acknowledge that the case of the New England Episcopalians is not particularly described and provided for in the Charter. But so neither is the case of any other Indians than such as are the King's subjects and people living in his plantations and colonies, for to these only the letter of the Charter extends; and in respect of others, Mr. Apthorp might justly say that Indian conversions are undertaken by the Society as it were *ex abundanti*.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the actual facts of the efforts made to convert the Indians, a word will be said later on. For the present it may be interesting to note the tone of the two great luminaries of eighteenth century Anglicanism, who were introduced in the Epilogue of the Pageant, and are specially referred to in the *Handbook* as "the great Bishop Butler and the still greater Bishop Berkeley." Both these, as it happened, were selected to preach the annual charity sermon of the S.P.G.—Bishop Berkeley in 1732, and Bishop Butler in 1739. Bishop Berkeley might claim to speak with the greater authority, because he had lived in New England in the State of Rhode Island. His opinion, especially after his sad experience of the Bermuda College, seems to have been that in the then state of things, little could be done with the negroes and the Indians, and that consequently the first duty of the Society lay in the reformation of the colonists themselves.

It should seem then that the likeliest step towards converting the heathen would be to begin with the English planters, whose influence will for ever be an obstacle to propagating the Gospel, till they have a right sense of it themselves, which would show them how much it is their duty to impart it to others.<sup>2</sup>

Further, Bishop Berkeley, in the course of his remarks, while commending the work of the Society's missionaries among the planters, makes some interesting comments. For example:

It must be owned our reformed [*i.e.*, Protestant] planters, with respect to the natives and the slaves, might learn from those of the Church of Rome how it is their interest and their duty to behave.

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Secker, *Answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations*, p. 23. 1764.

<sup>2</sup> Berkeley, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 244.

Both French and Spaniards have intermarried with Indians, to the great strength, security, and increase of their colonies. They take care to instruct both them and their negroes in the popish religion, to the reproach of those who profess a better. They have also bishops and seminaries for clergy, and it is not found that their colonies are worse subjects or depend less on their mother country on that account.<sup>1</sup>

Not less noteworthy is Bishop Berkeley's apologetic tone in proposing what seemed to him the best means of securing a good class of missionaries for the colonies, *i.e.*, a substantial salary.

It would also be an encouragement to the missionaries in general, and probably produce good effects, if the allowance of certain missionaries were augmented, in proportion to the services they had done, and the time they had spent in their mission. These hints I venture to suggest as not unuseful in an age wherein all human encouragements are found more necessary than at the first propagation of the Gospel.<sup>2</sup>

Still, seven years earlier than this Bishop Berkeley had not hesitated to write :

Now the clergy sent over to America have proved, too many of them, very meanly qualified both in learning and morals for the discharge of their office. And indeed little can be expected from the example or instruction of those who quit their native country on no other motive than that they are not able to procure a livelihood in it, which is known to be often the case.<sup>3</sup>

This was a pamphlet published in support of his scheme to train up native youths at Bermuda and to send them back to be missionaries to the Indians on the mainland. The fact that the S.P.G. had at that time been twenty-five years in existence does not seem to have affected his conviction that up to then nothing or next to nothing was being done by the English Church for the Indians, whereas the Spanish missionaries in the south and the French in the north were making such progress that Berkeley feared the English plantations might be engulfed. And he goes on :

It cannot be denied that the great number of poor regulars (*i.e.*, religious) inured to hard living and brought up in an implicit obedience to their superiors hath hitherto given the Church of Rome, in regard

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *A Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our foreign Plantations*, in Berkeley, *Works*, Ed. 1837, p. 387.

to her missions, great advantage over the reformed Churches. . . . Nor is the honour of the crown unconcerned in this scheme . . . which will remove the reproach we have so long lain under that we fall as far short of our neighbours of the Romish Communion in zeal for propagating religion as we surpass them in the soundness and purity of it.<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Butler's views of the function of the S.P.G., to judge from his sermon in 1739, seem not to have been very dissimilar. Of extending the operations of the Society beyond the American colonies there seems to have been no idea, but he urges that the English nation were bound to bring the slaves and the natives under their rule to a knowledge of the Gospel. In particular he says :

Of these our colonies the slaves ought to be considered as inferior members, and therefore to be treated as members of them, and not merely as cattle and goods, the property of their masters. Nor can the highest property possible to be acquired in these servants, cancel the obligation to take care of their religious instruction. Despicable as they may appear in our eyes, they are the creatures of God and of the race of mankind for whom Christ died ; and it is inexcusable to keep them in ignorance of the end for which they were made, and the means whereby they may become partakers of the general redemption. On the contrary, if the necessity of the case requires that they may be treated with the very utmost rigour that humanity will at all permit, as they certainly are, and for our advantage made as miserable as they well can be in the present world, this surely heightens our obligation to put them into as advantageous a situation as we are able, with regard to another.<sup>2</sup>

With the fullest appreciation for the high sense of Christian duty manifested in this and other passages of the same sermon, we may remark that this instruction of the negro slaves resident in the plantations would not seem in itself to be a very formidable kind of missionary work. It is in any case quite different from the self-devotion of those who go among a hostile people carrying their lives in their hands.

And here perhaps we may venture to call attention incidentally to a point which is not without its value as an illustration of the character of the missions undertaken by the S.P.G. in the early years of its activity. In 1901, on the occasion of the bicentenary of its foundation, the Society published a most imposing volume of nearly 1,500 pages under

<sup>1</sup> Berkeley, *Works*, (Ed. 1837,) p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Butler, *Works*, Ed. 1839, vol. ii., p. 190.

the title of "*Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. an Historical account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1701—1900*, by C. F. Pascoe, keeper of the Records."

The work is of the most official character. It professes to be based entirely upon the records which have been carefully preserved by the Society since its foundation, and with most praiseworthy diligence the compiler has consulted manuscript authorities and provided a reference for almost every statement. As the reader will readily believe, and as a very slight examination of the volume will show, a record of this kind is not likely to suffer from the defect of self-depreciation. Consequently we may fairly assume that its silences and omissions are as a rule almost as weighty as its assertions. Now on p. 931 D we find a list headed, THE SOCIETY'S ROLL OF MARTYRS, which is introduced with the text: "These are they which came out of great tribulation." The roll numbers nineteen names, of which seven are those of natives. But the point upon which we would lay stress is the question of date. The first martyrs of the S.P.G. according to this its own official list, were three clergymen and two catechists who perished in the Indian Mutiny in the year 1857, that is to say, 156 years after the Society was founded. We do not wish to be ill-natured in questioning the title of these martyrs to the name, but the same record informs us how they died. It was on May 11, 1857, that "the mutiny broke out in Delhi and the Rev. J. M. Jennings and his daughter, and the Rev. A. R. Hubbard and catechists Sandys and Koch, were amongst those who perished in the indiscriminate massacre of the Europeans."<sup>1</sup> Further with regard to Messrs. Haycock and Cockey, who died at Cawnpore some weeks later, we are told:

The precise time and nature of the deaths of the Missionaries is not quite certain. The Rev. W. H. Haycock is said to have lost his reason, probably from sunstroke, and to have died in the early days of the siege. Another account simply says that he was shot down as he was entering the entrenchments. His mother perished in the general massacre. The Rev. H. E. Cockey, wounded in the thigh by a musket shot, survived to suffer with those who were treacherously invited to proceed in boats to Allahabad.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 615. Mr. Jennings' name does not appear in "The Society's Roll of Martyrs," as he was not one of the S.P.G. missionaries.

<sup>2</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 596.

It will be plain that Mr. Pascoe is not at any rate over-exacting in the qualifications which he requires for inclusion in "the Society's Roll of Martyrs." But not even under this large interpretation of a title to martyr's honours, is there any attempt made to find one single representative of the S.P.G. who has earned this distinction by giving his life for the Christian Faith in any part of America. Nevertheless, this Anglican missionary organization had the whole field practically to itself for nearly a century, and the book from which we have just been quoting, prints upon pp. 86, 87, and pp. 192, 193, a most ostentatious tabular statement of the work performed by the Society in evangelizing the colonists and the natives. There we may find set forth at length the names of innumerable Indian tribes, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondages, Yammonseas, Cushoes, Catawos, Michmachs, Iroquois, Ojibways, &c., that have been ministered to in their own tongue and by implication converted. We do not doubt that some attempts and even earnest attempts were made, but they seem ever to have been kept within the bounds of a most prudent discretion. So far as the records inform us, the missionaries kept out of harm's way or retired from the field in good time to die peacefully in their beds. We wonder how many of the greater missionary efforts of the Roman Church were founded without the seed of the blood of martyrs. Certainly not those enterprizes of SS. Patrick, Augustine, and Boniface with which Mr. Dearmer associates the apostolic work of the S.P.G. Certainly not the Jesuit missions to the Indians of North and South America,<sup>1</sup> which were going on at this very time, or those innumerable other missions in Hindostan, China, Japan, Abyssinia, and many other parts of the world which had long been fertile in great and permanent results. Even an unwilling witness like Miss Mary Bateson cannot help noting the contrast:

The English [she says] translated the Bible into a single Indian dialect,<sup>2</sup> a work which could only appeal to the Indians who knew that dialect and had been taught to read English print; but the French collected the grammars and vocabularies of a number of tribes, they preached to the natives in their own tongue, whereas the English

<sup>1</sup> On these see Marshall, *Christian Missions*, First Edit. vol. iii. pp. 252—265, an account largely made up of quotations from Kyp and Bancroft. And cf. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, passim.

<sup>2</sup> This, however, was not done by any S.P.G. missionaries but by John Eliot who had severed his connection with the Church of England, and died before the S.P.G. was founded.

employed interpreters and insisted that the teaching of English must precede the teaching of Christianity. The Spaniards on the other hand by their governmental supremacy succeeded in displacing the dialects, and made one native language understood in South America. While many of the Jesuits lived wholly with the Indians, and slept and fed in their tents, even such a man as Eliot could not bring himself to accept their habits, and when he went to preach, his wife sent his food with him.<sup>1</sup>

But if we may return to the contention of Dr. Mayhew that the S.P.G. agents lived in populous places, combating the Nonconformists and Quakers, and making little or no attempt to convert the heathen, it must be said that even the official Reports of the Society seem thoroughly to substantiate the charge. For example, in 1737, there were, all told, some fifty-one ordained missionaries who were paid salaries by the Society.<sup>2</sup> Of these, fifteen were in New England, one in Newfoundland, nine in New York, five in New Jersey, eight in Pennsylvania, one in North Carolina, ten in South Carolina, one in Georgia, and one in the Bahamas. The reports of their work show that for the vast majority of these men the conversion of the Indians never entered into their thoughts. They baptized a certain number of children, white and black, some Quakers, and occasionally a few adult negroes. Nothing could be more significant than the fact that Mr. Charlton in New York, a clergyman who was specially set aside to work exclusively among the negroes, claimed in 1740, after more than eight years of what was considered most successful ministry to have baptized altogether 219 negroes, of whom twenty-four were adults, or an average of three adults a year.<sup>3</sup> Yet a negro living in captivity and speaking the language of his masters can hardly be regarded as a difficult person to convert, neither does such a mission suggest any particular element of danger or hardship.<sup>4</sup> It is also noticeable that

<sup>1</sup> Miss Bateson in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii. p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> There were also a few schoolmasters and catechists, nearly all of whom were in New England and New York.

<sup>3</sup> Here are the actual words of the Society's printed Report for 1741: "Mr. Charlton writes that the whole number of baptized [negroes] at New York from April 20th, 1732, to November 11th, 1740, now amounts to 219, and of them twenty-four are adults."

<sup>4</sup> We lay stress upon this since the Society in its Reports repeatedly makes reference to the success which has attended the efforts of Mr. Charlton in labouring for the conversion of the negroes of New York. For example in this same year 1741 the Report observes: "The attentive Reader must observe frequent mention of the baptisms of negroes in the letters of the missionaries over and above the large

the largest salaries, amounting to £70 a year, were paid in New England and Pennsylvania, not in the wilder regions. This £70 probably corresponds to at least £300 at the present day, for schoolmasters received only £10 or £15, which must have been a living wage, and many of the younger missionaries had only £30. From the S.P.G. report of 1764, we learn that there were then eighty-four ordained missionaries in all, and here again we have just the same preponderance in the peaceful and populous districts. In New England there were twenty-seven missionaries and ten in New York, but in North and South Carolina together only nine, and only two in Georgia. The sort of account that was commonly sent in by the S.P.G. missionaries may fairly be represented by the following specimen from the Report of 1739.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

The Rev. Mr. Lindsay, Itinerant Missionary, writes on the 29th of September, 1739, from New Bristol, the chief place of his residence, that he had baptized from February 1, 1738, to September 20, 1739, twenty-seven persons, one whereof was a negro woman, whom he catechised publicly in the face of the congregation to their great satisfaction before he admitted her to that holy sacrament. He adds that being an itinerant exposes him to very great fatigues, but he shall however try to the utmost of his power to discharge his duty to the improvement of the people and the satisfaction of the Society, depending on the Divine Providence and the great charity of the Society to assist and support him. The Society out of regard to Mr. Lindsay's expensive and laborious mission hath given him a gratuity of ten pounds.

Here is another more or less typical extract from the Report of 1764 illustrating a claim of work done among the Indians :

The Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Thompson, the Society's missionary at Scituate in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in his letters dated March 25th and September 26, 1763, acquaints the Society that in

number made Christians, in the space of a few years, from the labours of the Rev. Mr. Charlton at New York. From all which it is clear, that the Society hath made some progress in this branch of their care through the Divine blessing." Similarly in 1743 we have further mention of the "success of the Rev. Mr. Charlton, the Society's Catechist for the instruction of the negroes of New York, of whom fifteen infants and four adults have been made Christians by the Sacrament of Baptism from October 26, 1741, to September 30, 1742, and three admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which they received with great reverence and devotion."



Scituate, Hanover, and Marshfield, the towns in his mission, there are 700 families of various persuasions, fifty of which profess themselves of the Church of England and attend the public worship with seriousness, decency, and devotion. It appears by his Notitia that he had baptized within the year seven white and two Indian children, and that his actual communicants are forty-seven white and three Indians.

The unfavourable impression which, as we believe, must be left upon the minds of any candid reader of these Reports, is only deepened when we turn to the accounts of those who were not hampered in the expression of their opinions by any connection with the S.P.G. or its agents. In particular, we may appeal to the work of a certain Dr. Douglass, who published at Boston in 1750 a historical description of the colonies, evidently founded on wide information and considerable research. The writer was clearly a conscientious man, and, though not an Episcopalian, there seems no reason to suppose that he was prejudiced. To a large extent he is speaking of what he had seen with his own eyes, and we know nothing which would suggest the least doubt of the substantial accuracy of his statements. Speaking of the S.P.G. in particular, he more than once repeats that :

The missionaries of the Society do not in the least attempt the conversion of the Indians, because it requires travel, labour and hardship.<sup>1</sup>

Further he says :

Seeing the religious missionaries neglect the conversion of the Indians, and take no further care than with relation to their own salaries or livings and of being stationed in the most opulent towns which have no more communication with the savage Indians than the city of London has, the respective Governments upon the Continent of America ought to contrive some method of civilizing the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

To this the same writer adds in a note :

As for the conversion of the Indians they make it a sinecure or only a name. . . . As a historian upon the place of observation, I could not avoid, without suspicion of partiality, representing these misapplications in a true and proper light, being a public affair. I do not meddle with the character of any missionary. If the Bishop's Commissary has any authority, it is his office and care. I avoid being officious.

<sup>1</sup> Douglass, *Summary, Historical and Political, of the Planting and Present State of North America*, vol. ii. p. 118. Boston, 1750.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.

Complying with an appeal which is printed in the S.P.G. Report for 1740 and subsequent years,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Douglass makes bold to comment severely upon the shortcomings of the S.P.G.'s work and organization. For example he says :

Any indifferent man could not avoid imagining that by "propagating the Gospel in foreign parts," was meant the conversion of natives in those parts in which the Royal Charters and proprietary grants of our plantations enjoin the civilizing and conversion of the Indians by doctrine and example. . . . King William, or the Granter of the Charter, cannot be imagined to have meant that the expulsion or elbowing out sober orthodox dissenters was the principal intention thereof, though at present their chief practice. There is not one missionary (the Albany and Mohawk missionary excepted) that takes the least notice of the Indians. . . . The practice of the present missionaries is to obtain a mission to our most civilized and richest towns, where there are no Indians, no want of an orthodox Christian ministry, and no Roman Catholics, the three principal intentions of their mission.<sup>2</sup> . . . The missionaries are not stationed in such poor out-towns as the Charter supposes, but in the most opulent, best-civilized and Christian towns in the provinces. . . . I have a very great regard for all good ministers of the Christian Gospel and have no private or particular resentment against any missionary, but as an impartial historian I could not avoid relating matters-of-fact for the information of persons concerned who by reason of distance and other business cannot be otherways informed.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Douglass does not in fact hesitate to suggest, that the reports sent in by the missionaries of their own doings were in many cases unreliable. In other instances they are quite misleading if read now-a-days without a knowledge of the circumstances. For example, a certain Mr. Clement Hall is mentioned in the great Jubilee volume of the S.P.G. as having been a missionary in North Carolina between 1744—1759 "during which time he baptized 10,000 persons."<sup>4</sup> The modern reader meeting this statement will probably infer that these represent Mr. Hall's converts among the negroes and the Indians. But a reference to Dr. Douglass, who wrote in 1750, and understood all the conditions, sets the matter in quite a different light. After speaking of "the gross impositions upon the worthy and laudable Society by which charity and Christian benevolence is egregiously perverted," he touches upon the dearth of mission-

<sup>1</sup> It was occasioned by the dismissal of a Mr. Marsden who had been recommended to the Society as a missionary, but who was found to have a bad record.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> P. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 850.

aries in such wilder and less attractive regions as North Carolina. Whether Dr. Douglass means to intimate that when such missionaries as Mr. Hall did come, they were not always quite trustworthy, is not clear. But at any rate he says :

Not many years since some loose clergymen of the neighbouring province of Virginia at times in a frolic made a tour in North Carolina and christened people of all ages at so much per head, and made a profitable trip of it, as they expressed it.

Mr. Hall, lately appointed missionary for the North district, writes that in anno 1749 he baptized 1,282 persons. Mr. Moir, of the South district, cannot give an exact account of all the persons he hath baptized in his journeys for want of some one to count them, who have, he thinks, sometimes amounted to more than 100 persons in one day.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Douglass does not make it very clear whether he believes these statements, but on the other hand he does let us plainly see from the whole context that if the number of baptized was great, this was not due to conversions among the Indians and negroes, but simply to the fact that the white planters who had settled there had in many districts lived for years without being visited by any sort of clergyman. Consequently wherever a minister presented himself he found great numbers of young people who had never yet been baptized. Dr. Douglass' complaint is that while this state of things existed in the Carolinas and vast regions were devoid of any minister of the Gospel, the S.P.G. poured its missionaries into the comfortable towns of New England where there was nothing for them to do but to attack the Nonconformists.

But, it will be asked, were the missionary efforts of the Church of England during the Georgian Era limited to the American Colonies and the work of the S.P.G.? So far as we can see, this was absolutely the case down to the foundation of the Church Missionary Society in the last year of the eighteenth century. It is true that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had accepted the charge of certain missions in the East Indies, but these were taken over from the Danes and were for long years carried on by foreigners with English money.

Here are a collection of the names—*all* the names we could discover in several years of Reports—of those to whom the S.P.C.K. paid salaries to undertake the conversion of the people of Hindostan. Messrs. Schultze, Gneister, Sartorius, Kiernander, Dol, Bosse, Obuch, Wiedebrock, Kohlhoff, Fabricius, Zeglin,

<sup>1</sup> Douglass, *Summary*, ii. p. 130.

Walther, Diego, Cramer, Sichterman, Aguiar, Pressier, Aaron, Rajanaiken, Schwartz, Gericke, Jaenicke, Pohle, and Poezold. These fine old English patronymics must surely suffice to show how deeply the cause of missionary enterprize in the East was taken to heart by devout Anglicans at home. Moreover, the following passage from Messrs. Allen and McClure's official *History of the S.P.C.K.* speaks eloquently enough.

In 1789 [ninety years after its foundation], the Rev. A. T. Clarke was appointed to this mission *and it seemed as if at last the English Church was about to find clergymen of its own willing to become missionaries to India.* He was sent forth with joy from the Society's house, and great expectations were raised. But in 1791, Mr. Clarke suddenly threw up his charge and accepted a chaplaincy in the Company's service.<sup>1</sup>

But even from the very beginning of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., in the days of their founder Dr. Bray, we cannot but notice an extraordinary contrast between his conception of the missionary vocation and that laid down by our Saviour in the Gospels and ever maintained in practice by the Catholic Church. We may suitably conclude this paper by some brief account of the plan of campaign submitted by Dr. Bray to the S.P.C.K. in 1702. It represents the more or less matured scheme of this great Anglican organizer for the evangelization of the world.

To induce a learned, studious, and sober clergy to go into the service of the Church in those parts [the plantations] it seems necessary that parochial libraries should be fixed in every cure of souls, consisting of some of the best books of divinity, both commentators on the Holy Scriptures and Treatises on the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity.

Dr. Bray next recommends that "considerable quantities of practical books should be distributed gratis among the people of the plantations," and that there should be "catechetical free schools" for the education of the children of the poorest planters. The main difficulty evidently was the reluctance of the clergy to leave their own country and settle in the plantations. To remove this difficulty, Dr. Bray proposed that "certain charitable plantations stocked with some negroes" should be set up there, which would relieve the minds of the married clergy from the fear of leaving their wives and children

<sup>1</sup> Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years of the History of the S.P.C.K.* 1898, p. 276.

destitute and unprovided for. Such charitable plantations, he says, "might be raised at an easy charge and the product would be very considerable." Further, he recommends that:

To stimulate and excite the clergy that are there, to distinguish themselves by their learning and industry, and especially by their zeal for the salvation of men's souls and their care to abstain from all appearance of evil and that they may give no offence to any, it seems desirable that out of the like charitable plantations, or otherwise, there could be something in the power of those who preside over them as suffragans or commissaries, to bestow upon them as gratuities by way of pension or prebendal fees.

Dr. Bray next recommends that "to reduce the Quakers, who are so numerous in those parts, to the Christian faith, from which they are wholly apostatized, and so may be looked upon as a heathen nation," "missionaries" should be supported and sent among them in order to convert them. Finally, he recommends as (seemingly the principal) means to convert the Indian nations, that some of their children should be educated in the Christian faith, and when properly instructed, sent back "to deal with them for their souls' good."<sup>1</sup>

There would be no reason to quarrel with these methods as long as we look upon the work of the missionary as a purely human undertaking, but they do not seem to be the methods of Him who bade His Apostles take nothing with them for their journey and to be content with one coat.

HERBERT THURSTON.

<sup>1</sup> McClure, *A Chapter in English Church History* (the Minutes of the S.P.C.K., 1694—1704), p. 22. London, 1888.

## *A Story without a Plot.*

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Better half-sight and tear-dimmed day  
Than dust-defiled o'er-sated Touch!  
Better the torn wing than the crutch!  
Better who hide their gift than they  
Who give so basely and so much.

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*Aubrey de Vere.*

IT had taken Robert Dalgairns some six or seven years to slip gradually into the position he now occupied, and as far as he could see, there were no further achievements before him. His first published article, ripe with the condensed energy of many silent years, had caused the kind of sensation which often follows on the utterances of a very obscure writer, a *succès de surprise*; and ever since he had been carried along by an ever-swelling tide of popularity. He had passed well, on the whole, through the usual phases of literary success; from the first day when *Blue Cuts* ventured timidly to mention that Mr. Robert Dalgairns was fond of walking along the Thames Embankment on summer evenings, a non-committal statement capable of being varied, as he grew in fame, to anything short of a taste for murder. A week now seldom passed without allusions to him in the newspapers, in the form which seems the last stone on the pinnacle of the modern Temple of Fame—he was quoted without his name! Inverted commas in the midst of a leading article had come to be taken for granted as enshrining an immortal saying of “R.D.” His portrait, painted by an artist so great as to have one foot in the Academy, had been reproduced in every possible way, and was to be seen on all the well-known blue paper covers of his popular editions.

The moment of illumination had come when, after turning over papers which he had accumulated on different subjects, as most intelligent young men do between the ages of twenty and thirty, it suddenly occurred to him to put one into shape and send it to an editor. His very ignorance protected him and helped him to storm a fort which veterans feared to

approach; he did not even know whether this particular magazine did or did not accept articles without "a preliminary correspondence." But before there arose any necessity of such enlightenment for him, he was famous! At the last moment a contributor had failed, a gap required filling, Robert Dalgairns had struck a subject neither too old nor too new, and a week after the "Cornwall Quarterly" appeared, the whole literary world was holding out a Brobdignagian hand for the little Gulliver to stand on for inspection. To say that Dalgairns was astonished is to admit the limitations of human speech; he had felt, as every man feels who has a spark of genius, that perhaps in some other world and under unimaginable conditions, his work might be pronounced good, and in writing he knew that a dumb devil was being exorcised, which had long tortured him; but the plain bald fact of his words being discussed seriously and disseminated broadcast with approval over what to him represented the whole of the civilized world, bewildered him as much as if he had hitherto believed himself and his work to be beneath contempt. Gradually the balance of things adjusted itself; amid the chorus of praise he caught echoes of what he really believed true; and he learned to look at himself objectively, one of the last stages in literary training.

Robert Dalgairns' ears burned as some of his sentences crystallized into quotations, and in the process showed their limitations, while other words amazed and impressed him till once or twice he hesitated to recognize them for his own. Out of all this chaos he worked his way till at the end of six or seven years he stood on a giddy eminence, which in former generations a man would have taken a lifetime to climb. He still wondered occasionally, not so much at himself, for he had begun to see that, given the conditions under which he wrote, he really was more or less of a portent, but at the very amazing cleverness of most of his contemporaries, which yet never succeeded in amounting to greatness. He abandoned such reflections after a short time, and returned to the more congenial occupations of refusing autographs and accepting invitations to dinner. He often congratulated himself on having arisen on the literary horizon at a time when serious writers were neither debarred by poverty nor pose from mixing with a cheerful section of their fellow-creatures. According to the pleasant kaleidoscopic arrangements of our day, the author of *Essays* which are alternately compared to Montaigne and



Lamb, with rather a pitying inflection on the latter name, can without losing intellectual caste, lunch, dine or sup next to the very prettiest and silliest *débutante* who ever mis-spelt her own address, and will very probably find on his other side an equally sapient personage with a genius for millinery.

His little household had a perfume of decency about it, and though occasionally some incongruous elements were inevitably introduced, they found the atmosphere uncongenial to them, and it soon became understood in quarters where such knowledge is most difficult to inculcate, that Dalgairns was old-fashioned and not at all really bohemian.

Robert Dalgairns was really far more interesting as a human type than he was as a writer; his work would never be half as sincere and dignified as he was himself, but in the world he moved in, sincerity and dignity are at a discount, and his success was distinctly enhanced by the theory that he was courageously posing for an old-fashioned type of man. The interviewers who from time to time refreshed the public memory with accounts of what R. D. said of the latest model of aeroplane, or his views on the chances of a German invasion, were always careful to season their paragraphs with allusions to "Mr. Dalgairns' well-known theories, and his uncompromising attitude towards innovations." In fact, at the time of our story, Robert Dalgairns was an institution, and as such, deeply embedded in the faithful, romantic, steadfast British heart. The English public had gone through its successive phases of mistrust, dazzled admiration and iron-bound adhesion, he had reached a stage when he might write what he liked, or even stop writing altogether, nothing could dethrone him; even death, when it came, would only mean that his books would go at once into several more editions, until they reached the classic Elysium of school prizes bound in green and gold.

Robert was at work one morning in his study as usual, with his male secretary and Miss Pettawaite, the little typist from Notting Hill, who nourished the secret and perfectly innocent passion for her employer, which many healthy girls feel under such circumstances without it interfering in the least with their ultimate settlement in life.

"Oh, Burrowes, by the way, there's one letter I think I'll answer myself, but it may be on your desk, the third pigeon hole. Got it? Thanks."

For a few moments there was no sound in the room but

the scratching of pens (Robert refused to have his private correspondence typed), and the loud purring of two black cats. The letter contained the third offer received that week of a novel in MS., for Dalgairns was literary adviser to one or two of the best publishing firms, and on two "First Novel" committees; it presented nothing unusual, except that the writer suggested coming herself to read part of it, and any quite unconventional step in his profession always reminded Robert of his own beginnings and softened his heart.

"Dear Madam," he wrote, remembering that the author could always sell his autograph at a bazaar, and good naturedly hoping she would, "in answer to your letter, I must remind you that I am a very busy man and that of course I am rarely able to read MSS. except in my official capacity. But if you care to call and tell me the rough outline of your book in one interview, I would see you to-morrow afternoon between two and three. You can do as you please about bringing the MS., but in any case I am too busy to read it at present. Yours faithfully . . ." Here followed the celebrated signature, one of the things which perhaps more than anything else helped to keep up the Dalgairns' legend of conventionality. Instead of being a mass of tangled hieroglyphics, it was a very fair script, for Robert had no time, and very little inclination, to set about twirling his handwriting into any characteristic form; and none of the hundred specimens of fountain pens or stylographs offered him by aspiring firms of stationers had modified it.

The next day Burrowes and Miss Pettiwaite were requested to work in the dining-room after lunch, and before the clock had struck the quarter after two, Robert's faint curiosity was satisfied. A girl of middle height with light brown hair and bright hazel eyes came in rather out of breath, carrying a heavy wad of paper under one arm. Dalgairns noticed with some misgiving that she was rather shabby; a refusal might mean something important to a woman whose rusty velvet coat and sham fur toque could only have been worn by anyone forced by necessity to economize. The work-a-day costume of a girl who dresses plainly for special occasions, has always a subdued suitability of its own, which was distinctly absent from Robert's visitor. He pushed a chair up to his desk for her, and she nervously began upon her business at once. Dalgairns sat opposite her, considerably looking everywhere

but into her face, until she had somewhat lamely described the general outlines of her book. As he expected, it was the usual thing; a slight thread upon which hung a few commonplace incidents, and one crudely introduced catastrophe, the whole seasoned with the latest brand of despairing pessimism and a distinct flavour of unsavoury details. Dora Mostyn read her sentence in Dalgairns' attitude before he spoke.

"I'm afraid I really haven't anything favourable to say," he remarked at last, with a strong sense of the incongruity of modern conditions, which was never more apparent to him than when he found himself judging the work of very immature women writers. "Of course, I'm going to be quite sincere with you. It's the best and only way of helping you. I can't honestly encourage you to try and publish your book, because the only thing in it which would arrest the attention of the public is not literature at all."

His hearer flushed a deep unbecoming red, and opened her lips to protest.

"One moment, please. I'm quite aware, of course, that life can't always be treated or described honestly without sad, and sometimes even horrible details, but it isn't art to drag them in by the head and shoulders, and it is quite possible to solve your problem without them. But then, of course, we come to the great dilemma of the moment, which, to my mind, is at the bottom of a lot of the inartistic stuff published. If anyone less than a genius attempts to handle the obvious and the commonplace, the only recipe seems to be to salt and pepper it until it is less like life than the most sickly sentimentality which was ever offered us at the worst periods of English literature. There's no such thing as an uninteresting life really; every man and woman touches tragedy at times, but it is childish to look at nothing but the dark side, and utterly false to all proportion and harmony to see our surroundings through perpetual dyspepsia. I am sorry to say that your book is the outcome of an evil fashion in literature; and as such I am pledged to oppose it. I make it my business to tilt against literary insincerity, more especially in work which, forgive me, only appeals to the public by unlawful methods."

Robert paused and dropped his official voice, as his visitor rose without further remark, and began tying up her papers with rather trembling fingers. She was still flushed, and

naturally resentful. He reflected once more on the curious situation; to a man of his views with regard to women, it was fairly incongruous to be scolding a girl for writing an improper novel. He also had an uncomfortable feeling that he was depriving her of a living, for the book was by no means too bad to find a market, though he personally hoped to see no more of such work. What really made him angry was the palpable evidence that Miss Mostyn had counted upon the demand for books of a certain type, and had, so to speak, forced the note. Such utter disregard for the decent conventions of social life argued a grievous lack of moral training or some grave defect of nature. His visitor murmured some conventional phrases of apology for taking up valuable time, but with such evident bad temper that he could see she thought him a prig and a fool; a judgment which even a phenomenally successful author does not view with equanimity. For one moment he was divided between an impulse to soften his remarks and make himself sound more up to date, and a still more primitive desire to coax his visitor to smile and say good-bye in a forgiving spirit. But before such unintellectual influences had time to work, the aspirant to fame had hurried away.

About a week after the Mostyn episode Robert was dining with Mrs. Edward Gartenstein, an amiable and hospitable widow, who was generally attached to some celebrity in the way that pet cats often occupy the loose box of valuable horses. The "horse" of the moment was Maude Waybold, a comedy star who had just returned from America and was rehearsing a new play. Her kind hostess had sent a spare car (she had three) to the X—— to fetch her, and the star had dressed in the room which was generally at her disposal in the Gartenstein mansion. Robert was only surprised for a moment to find that when he turned round from exchanging civilities with "Mowd," as Mrs. Gartenstein usually called her, to find that his other neighbour was Dora Mostyn. She looked a little out of the picture, and had the same settled air of despondent shabbiness as in her day clothes. The only difference was that no rabbit-skin toque disfigured the outlines of her neat head, on which the smooth brown hair was rolled in shining masses, and that her worn black gown did not conceal her pretty girlish white shoulders and neck. Robert was a little puzzled to place her until Maude, in a stage whisper, informed him that Miss Mostyn was Mrs. Gartenstein's companion, and that she "wrote." It

was quite on the general Gartenstein principles that even the companion-secretary-housekeeper, that very indispensable adjunct to a modern woman's establishment, should be something a little removed from the old-fashioned prim conception of the part. He was informed, with much diplomatic lowering of the most musical voice in London, that Mrs. Gartenstein had been attracted by a short story signed "Dora Mostyn," which had apparently contained enough of the approved flavouring to stamp the writer as a person to cultivate. *Pourparlers* had ensued, and Miss Mostyn, having no one to consult, her parents being dead, exchanged the shabby independence of a flat in Battersea for her present comfortable quarters, with full powers of control over an army of servants. Mrs. Gartenstein was far too fashionable to attempt to suppress or oppress her companion, and it was only because three months had not yet elapsed since Miss Mostyn had taken up her quarters in Belgrave Square that her clothes still belonged to the Battersea phase of her career. Miss Waybold had a healthy appetite, and had worked hard all the afternoon, so Robert left her to the enjoyment of her dinner, and turned to his other neighbour. She seemed to have buried her resentment, and to be anxious to do her duty as representing the daughter of the house. Dalgairns was only too glad not to talk shop, and the two floated into calm waters. He found her fairly simple, considering the impossible reputation she had to live up to, and the tradition which had gathered round his own name. But a very good dinner, and the irrepressible influences of cheerful companionship, will sometimes, even in these days of problems and attitudes, go far towards levelling differences; and by the time the *parfait au café* had arrived, Robert was nearer his rudimentary type than he had been since, with a beating heart of eighteen, he had taken his vicar's daughter in to supper. Dora Mostyn forgot that she was a magazine writer of decidedly "advanced" stories, and the authoress of an unpublished novel which aimed at reproducing d'Annunzio, and certainly recalled some of his plots, and felt it almost a shock when dinner was over and the women of the party approached her on her own ground. She ran up to her room to avoid the confidences of Mrs. Grayhurst, who was writing reminiscences of her travels in the East, and wished to put some incidents into words to hear how they sounded; she felt a real old-fashioned early Victorian leap of the heart when Dalgairns unmistakably made for her corner in the drawing-room. They sat together

and made silly jokes when D'Esterre, the tenor, sang flat, as he invariably did after dinner, and it was only by a superhuman effort of control, and a recollection of where he was, and what he had to live up to, that Dalgairns didn't ask her for one of the carnations which were fading in her sash, a boon he invariably used to beg from his partners in the dear old days before he was a celebrity or had ever dined at smart houses.

The next tea party Dalgairns gave included Mrs. Gartenstein and her companion, and he was able to notice distinctly that a fortnight's interval had not lessened the exhilaration which Miss Mostyn's presence produced in him. This time they did talk shop, and entrenched themselves behind professional expressions till they almost convinced each other that literature was a common bond. An impersonal topic is an excellent ground for two people who are beginning to find the atmosphere they breathe rather electric, and there is no occasion to dread fervour when it can be freely expressed in the abstract. Her early novel had not been "placed;" in fact it had been ignominiously cremated in Miss Mostyn's bedroom fireplace, and was in process of being rewritten. Robert was not informed of the fire-place episode, but his well-known generosity to beginners was put under contribution, and several interviews took place while another story was put into shape. A "preface by Robert Dalgairns" forced the doors of a publishing firm, who, however, could not give Miss Mostyn much prospect of success.

"It's rather limp, you see," said the managing director, "and people will not read namby-pamby books. Even the *Satellite* says that the preface is the best part. Mediocrity, forgive my frankness, must be allied with *something* which raises it from a dead level. There are some optimistic people who still believe that humour alone will sell a book, but not all writers have humour at command and, in any case, it is very difficult to discover plots where humour does not play round equivocal situations. In fact, you must not be too *colletmontée* for the age you live in. R.D. can afford to be conventional and Victorian, but the public won't take it from anyone else. I hope that you'll try and stand on your own feet in future."

The magazine to which Miss Mostyn owed her first popularity was still less encouraging, and she began to understand her position.

In the first weeks which followed the discouraging reviews

of her book, business interviews in Dalgairns' study multiplied, and Mrs. Gartenstein could so often count for certain on the great man coming whenever she invited him, that her parties became a recognized social success. The genial hostess had to admit to herself that her companion was not making the brilliant literary figure that her early work had promised, but such very big fish swam complacently into the Gartenstein net in the wake of the great R. D. that there was really little more to wish for. Dora let fall some very human and girlish tears one afternoon in Dalgairns' study, when two stories came back from different publishers with polite refusals. It was quite evident what her only attraction to editors had been, and the experience was not pleasant. It was impossible for a man of Robert's type to forget how they had first become acquainted, and although by this time he had come to believe that her literary attitude had been as external to herself as if she had been an actress with more or less unpleasant rôles to play, yet he could not rid himself of a certain distrust of her. After all, the alteration in her work, although a great compliment to him as man and author, was not her own initiative, and nothing could undo the fact that she had been perfectly satisfied with her own chosen path until she had met him. She had manifested then no sign of a conscience, no "sense of sin," not even a womanly self-respect. He abused himself for a prig and a splitter of hairs, and was altogether in a restless frame of mind. Dora was beginning not to understand the stage they had reached. She could see, of course, that he was not indifferent to her, but she made up her mind that it was one of those lazy platonic arrangements into which some men are content to drift, so long as they are not expected to upset the settled conditions of their lives. She avoided examining her own thoughts too deeply, and told herself repeatedly that she was very happy in her new friendship. Unreciprocated attachments were really too old-fashioned to be given a thought by a woman with her living to make.

As for Robert, he was beginning to curse the modern conditions which made such contradictions as Dora and her literary attitude possible. He knew perfectly well that but for Mrs. Gartenstein and the secretaryship which might end at any moment, she had hardly any visible means of subsistence except her knack of writing, which could only escape the doom of mediocrity by its "audacity" in one direction. It need hardly



be explained that any contradiction or pre-occupation concerning a woman who has already begun to attract him is the last straw to a man of Dalgairns' temperament; and by the time Dora and he had spent a few more hours in each other's company he was as near feeling a real passion as any human being ever is.

Dora mentally applied in turn all her little theories to the situation, which of course was plain enough in one of its aspects; but they didn't fit, and she was not really possessed of the *clef de l'énigme*. She saw at last that he was what is called seriously in love with her, and yet dared not let herself believe that he would marry her; she plainly saw an obstacle, but honestly could not imagine what it was. She remembered his attitude about her writing—that of course she understood; it was the traditional Dalgairns' "pose," but now that she had paid him the enormous compliment of following his advice and ruining her market, what was the hesitation in his mind?

It will be seen that her mental processes were not of a very high order—that the spiritual side of her nature was quite atrophied. She was a very ordinary little person, quite ready (the irrevocable being far better under control in her than in him) to fall in love with a clever, handsome, popular man, who could give her just the position she longed for. She had vague theories of what it would be possible to do in the way of re-capturing her waning popularity, if she ever really became the wife of a well-known author; but she was so far from understanding his horror of her trade, that this expectation did not strike her as even incongruous. From the dim recesses of her mind she recalled the theory that men of Robert's type only cared for very innocent-minded girls, but surely he knew that she had lived alone and had worked for a living, and that the vicious flavour of her stories was simply an ingredient to make them piquant to the public taste. What she had not grasped was that he could have more easily forgiven a lapse followed by a recovery than an inability to realize that she had lapsed at all. He could trace in her attitude of mind no feeling of responsibility to a higher power, or even to the essential dignity of humanity.

At last nature would no longer be gainsaid; she loves to trip us up in our most lofty intellectual moods. A somewhat protracted absence put the finishing touches to what propinquity and elemental attraction had begun, and one day Robert

Dalgairns found himself putting his fate to the test and actually believing that it still hung in the balance. Dora was transfigured for a few weeks by the alchemy of love, and for that one golden and unforgettable period in both their lives, the dust and stains of her ugly trade faded away, and left her that most beautiful of mortal beings, a woman loving and beloved.

One whose words were the most immortal part of his memory, wrote that there is generally a tragedy in our fulfilled desires. As no unnatural obstacles reared themselves up between Robert and Dora, it is not necessary to imagine any. Their marriage was at first what such marriages generally are, so victorious and complete a triumph over all mental limitations or contradictions, that they seem never to have existed. It was not till many months after this stage had passed that Dora, partly out of the extraordinary form of sex-rivalry which seems the aftermath of happy literary marriages, and partly because her business instincts were beginning to awake again, began to collect the notes she had made for her destroyed novel. As she went over them, adding here and there details, which she felt gave her story "life" (our modern euphemism for a much uglier word), it gradually transformed itself into a sketch of her married life. Qualms occasionally visited her during the process, but as she had always failed really to understand the love of purity and the delicate reticence which were the mainspring of Robert's character, she now soothed herself with the idea that all the shrinking he had felt from her work was because it had been given to the world as coming from a girl, the "unprotected woman" whom men of Robert's type consider sacred. When the skeleton story was once more padded and clothed, it certainly came even nearer the requirements of one section of the literary market than before. It now had the additional attraction of containing a portrait of the great "R.D." as the public had never seen him, a shorn Samson at the feet of his domestic Delilah. Publishers were quite willing to consider it seriously, more especially as there was a shrewd idea afloat that it was a joint performance.

Robert had once more settled to his customary routine of work, when one morning Dora, with mingled pride and self-consciousness, laid an envelope full of press-cuttings and a cheque on his desk. He read them, at first half incredulously, but at last the scales fell from his eyes. Husband and wife faced each other, and in the memory of both rose up the day

when he had first met and mistrusted her. His old misgivings came back with redoubled force: even now he would have almost rather felt her guilty of anything than of such irresponsible and conscienceless trafficking in the sacred topics of life. His eyes seared her, and she left the study carrying her press-cuttings and her cheque with an air of detached unconcern that deceived neither of them.

As years passed on, and the public really grasped the fact that the great "R. D." would never write again, there grew to be a constant demand for "Dora Mostyn," and the general verdict was that her style had all the Dalgairns' solidity with an added "life" and "vigour" of her own.

LILIAN MARIAN LEGGATT.

## *Flotsam and Jetsam.*

### **"The Apostolic Dr. Bray."**

THE Doctor Thomas Bray who is held in such honour as the founder of the S.P.C.K. and the first designer of English missions to the heathen, may have been a very earnest and sincere man, but he represented a type which does not grow more attractive on nearer acquaintance, and Catholics in particular have little reason to venerate his memory. He denounced and feared what he called Papistry with extraordinary vehemence and it seems almost an open question whether it was zeal for souls or only dread of Romanism which led him primarily to think of having the Gospel preached to the natives of America. It was probably through his influence that in the Charter granted to the S.P.G. in 1701, the fact that "divers Romish priests and Jesuits are encouraged to pervert and draw over our loving subjects to Popish superstition and idolatry" is cited as a principal reason for sending missionaries abroad. In all his memorials and reports upon the religious state of the plantations he hardly ever put forward the work of preaching Christianity to the Indians as a duty in itself without further recommending it as a policy forced upon Englishmen by the dangerous menace of the success of their rivals. For example he says—and this is but a specimen of many similar utterances—

I shall not here speak of the number of the Missionaries requisite to be sent to convert the native Indians lying on the back of this and all our other colonies on the (American) Continent. Now that the French of Canada do by their priests draw over so many of these Indians, both to their religion and their interests, in the opinion of many wise persons who understand the native and inveterate spirit of popery, the nature of the Indians, and the situation of those parts, the civil government has very great reason to take umbrage so as to think it of the highest consequence to the preservation of our plantations, to have those Indians which border upon us brought over to our religion, in order to hold them in a stricter alliance with us.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memorial respecting the present State of Religion in North America*, London, 1700; in Steiner, *Thomas Bray*, Maryland Historical Society, 1901.

So again, in his Report on Maryland, he speaks in terms of the utmost alarm of

America exposed to the perversions of Popish priests, at a juncture when the French from Canada are so notoriously diligent in sending their emissaries among the Indians lying on the back of this and other colonies, to draw them into their superstition and alliance, unto whose religion and interests also should the priests bring Maryland, it is obvious to any who know its situation, how that would affect all the English plantations on the continent.

The advance made by the Roman missionaries seems to have been a constant nightmare to him, as when he says :

Alas that it should ever be said that another Church, whose religion is so sadly corrupted by paganish superstitions, should yet be ten thousand times more zealous in banishing infidelity and paganism out of the world than ours is.

The moral Dr. Bray drew from all this was a twofold one ; the first, comparatively innocent, that energetic efforts ought to be made to preach Christianity to the Indians with the view of gaining them to Protestantism ; the other to crush and proscribe Popery in all the English plantations as far as was reasonably possible—all this seemingly through a blind terror of what was going to happen “if upon the withdrawing of the Protestant ministers the Province should be left utterly and be totally delivered up to Popish priests.”<sup>1</sup>

The policy of persecution into which this Protestant hero was led by these unreasoning fears was, however, really deplorable. He strove his utmost to get a law sanctioned by which neither Quaker nor Catholic worship should be tolerated in Maryland. The Quaker influence, however, was too strong to allow the home government to permit such a measure. The Quakers, accordingly, were allowed the exercise of their special forms of worship, but the Catholics were freely sacrificed. We cannot, perhaps, do better than quote the language of a modern authority, Dr. Charles Tiffany, Archdeacon of New York, who, though an Episcopalian himself, speaks upon the subject with admirable frankness. These are his words :<sup>2</sup>

When Dr. Bray left for England after his brief sojourn in Maryland, he had simply given an impulse to a better life of the Church without having been able to rectify many of the abuses which he deplored.

<sup>1</sup> Steiner, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> In *American Church History*, Vol. VII. *The History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, by Dr. Tiffany, pp. 68, 69.

On his arrival at home he found the opponents of the colony's Act of Establishment very active and aggressive; and the Act as passed was disapproved by the Attorney-General. Dr. Bray succeeded in having another Bill drawn, which, while establishing the Church, extended to Protestant dissenters and Quakers the English Act of Toleration. This was finally approved by Parliament and by the colonial authorities, and received the royal assent in 1702. . . . The most signal injustice was done by the Act to the Roman Catholics, to whom the benefit of the Act of Toleration was not extended. And so, in the language of Dr. Hawks, "Maryland presented the picture of a province founded for the sake of freedom of religious opinion by the toil and treasure of Roman Catholics, in which, of all who called themselves Christians, none save Roman Catholics were denied toleration."<sup>1</sup> Such legislation is the sarcasm of history, and in the end it failed to prosper those in whose interests it was enacted.

It might perhaps seem that this refusal of toleration to Catholics was due not so much to Dr. Bray as to the English Government, but it was Dr. Bray who drafted the Act finally approved, and it is abundantly clear from the tone of most of his published works, *e.g.*, the *Martyrology*, which he left incomplete, that he always regarded the Catholic Church with unrelenting hostility.

Even when acting as the Bishop of London's Commissary and lecturing an Anglican clergyman convicted of polygamy, Dr. Bray was haunted by the ever-present thought of Popery.

It so happens [he said to the offender] that you are seated in the midst of Papists, nay within two miles of Mr. Hunter, the chief amongst the numerous priests at this time in this province, and who I am credibly informed by the most considerable gentlemen in these parts, has made that advantage of your scandalous living that there have been more perversions made to Popery in that part of Maryland since your polygamy has been the talk of the country, than in all the time it has been an English Colony.<sup>2</sup>

H. T.

#### "Sleep Undisturbed."

The mediæval writer who, in the simplicity of his heart, compiled a collection of ready-made sermons and entitled them *Dormi Secure* ("sleep undisturbed"), must have been an unconscious humorist of the first water. We say an unconscious humorist because, as the discerning reader will observe, this apostrophe is addressed, not in the plural to the parishioners

<sup>1</sup> Hawks, *Ecclesiastical Contributions*, ii. p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 516.

who were to listen, but in the singular to their pastor who was to preach. It was his repose, not theirs, that the sermon-maker was thinking of. He foresaw in his mind's eye the conscientious but uninventive *parochus*, racked with anxiety about the subject of his next sermon, and passing sleepless nights in the fruitless quest of an idea. Let him, however, but procure a copy of the *Dormi Secure*, and behold him possessed of the most effective of opiates. His sermon is ready—text, divisions, anecdotes, applications, quotations from the Scripture and the Fathers, everything that he can need. The would-be preacher may put anxiety aside, and sleep soundly in the consciousness that, however it may be with the manner, the matter at least of his discourse cannot possibly fail him.

Evangelical Protestantism is not as a rule fond of avowing its obligations to the Middle Ages, but here is an idea which it has not only made its own, but improved upon. The *Dormi Secure* was a big volume, and must necessarily have been a costly investment. The pastor of our own day buys in what quantities he likes and gets much more value for his money. A chance copy of *The Record* which has come into our hands shows us how it is done. It appears that a "Northern Vicar" has lately discovered a type-written circular sent to one of his curates, and has indignantly forwarded the document to *The Record*, which prints it without names for the edification of its readers. In spite of its private and confidential character we also may venture to reproduce it.

"Private and Confidential.

"Dear Sir,—While busy in parish work the demands of the pulpit press heavily. Having held a crowded city church, I know how largely success depends on the pulpit. Now, disabled by broken health, I can send you the material that holds in rapt attention, and will increase your congregation. Let me help you. I will send no dry, prosy stuff hiding poverty of thought under words, letting attention slip, chilling you. No so-called outlines stating the obvious in jerky bits, leaving you the thought to find. They shall be masterly sermons—fresh, bright, rich with thought, intimate with life, without padding. Your aim is mine, to create the deepest impression inside twenty-five minutes, and to do that stint nothing. Let me send you four sermons for Sundays just at hand, four for six shillings, pay on postal delivery. Apart from time saved, it will save double its cost in books for mere suggestions equally choice with those I will send, wrought into original sermons, each in the unity of a great idea clothed in choice language. In addition to Calendar I suggest Harvest, Choir, Sunday School,



Youthful Confirmation, Additional Curates, Temperance, Missionary, This Indifferent Age, War and Peace, Sudden Calamities. And for the hour, Rich man and Kingdom of Heaven. All of party or class avoided. That which meliorates made vivid. On these or any subjects you may wish to handle I will serve you well. All shall be crisp, but have grit and substance.

"Yours faithfully, —."

*The Record's* comment appended to this document is hardly less interesting.

No, we cannot reproduce the name and address of this exceedingly clever gentleman, but we should like to see one of these "masterly sermons, fresh, bright, rich with thought, intimate with life, without padding" and all, too, for eighteenpence. Church congregations need not, however, be uneasy. The clergy of to-day have higher views of their calling than to reproduce in the pulpit as their own the sermon of another, however brilliant it may be.

We also should like to see a few of these masterly sermons at eighteenpence, and we cannot help fancying that if the sermons are in any way as alluring as the circular, some of those "church congregations" whom *The Record* thinks it needful to reassure, would not be so very distressed if their ministers occasionally substituted a ready-made discourse, as per advertisement, for those of domestic manufacture. What we principally venture to dissent from is, however, *The Record's* conviction that the Evangelical clergy of to-day are too high-minded to reproduce other people's sermons. In our humble opinion the really remarkable gifts manifested by the writer of the circular are of far too valuable an order in this age of advertisements to be likely to waste their sweetness on the desert air. If these discourses can be supplied, or at any rate offered, at so cheap a rate, it is because the market is a large one. Just imagine the income which so inventive a writer might command if he offered his services to the Protestant Alliance, the Church Association, or shall we perhaps say, the Protestant Press Bureau.

H. T.

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#### **The First English Jesuit.**

The frequency of Jesuit vocations among the English Catholics has always been remarkable. During the persecution period the number of Englishmen who became Jesuits sometimes rose to nearly one half of all those who embraced the ecclesiastical state; and they began to join from the beginning of

Elizabeth's reign, even before Douay College was founded. The first of all seems to have been a certain Thomas Lith, and it would have been interesting to follow the career of this the only English Jesuit who was received by St. Ignatius himself. But though the records exist, a curious circumstance prevents our reading and understanding them with certainty. The obstacle originated in the difficulty which foreigners found in pronouncing his name, and this induced them to call him for short, *Thomaso Inglese*. No harm would have resulted from so commonplace an occurrence, if it had not happened that the next Englishman who became a Jesuit was also called Thomas, and also had a surname unpronounceable to Italians. Thereupon his name was also simplified into *Thomaso Inglese*, and thence has ensued for us a confusion which even now cannot be perfectly cleared up.

Thomas the First "was admitted into the Society at Rome in June 1555." So Father Nathaniel Southwell, in his *Catalogus Primorum Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Jesu ex Anglia*,<sup>1</sup> following a manuscript catalogue of the year 1555, in which, however, there is some uncertainty whether the surname is Lith or Lish. His diocese is given as "London," and his age "nineteen."

Thomas the Second entered at the *Casa Professa*, Rome, on October 2, 1556, as Father Southwell has again noted. His surname is given as "Natalis," which presumably stands for "Christmas." No details are given as to his age or diocese, but we may perhaps identify him with the Thomas Anglus, who was one of the earliest students of the German College, Rome. He was received there in the time of St. Ignatius, and the day on which he took the promises of the College is thus mentioned in the earliest register:

Thomas Anglus, Salisburiensis, 15 Julii, 1554.<sup>2</sup>

St. Ignatius, writing to Pole on January 24, 1555, describes the German College student as "*un inglese di buon ingegno et indole*."<sup>3</sup>

It was usual in those early days, before a separate house was set aside for the Novitiate, to send the novices from Rome to the Sanctuary of Loretto, where the Jesuits had a fairly large house.

<sup>1</sup> Stonyhurst MSS., used by Foley in the Appendix to his last volume.

<sup>2</sup> F. Schroeder, *Monumenta quae spectant primordia Collegii Germanici et Ungarici*, Rome, 1896, p. 239. "Salisburiensis" will here signify "of the diocese of Salisbury," and will differentiate this man from the Thomas the First who was of London.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; also *Cartas de S. Ignacio*, v. 348.

In 1557, therefore, we find both Thomases there, and their Rector, Father Olivier Manare, reported on them very favourably, but, alas, in a way that gives us no clue how to distinguish one from the other.—“Thomas Anglus major,” he says, “will be a great servant of God, and Thomas Anglus minor is a thoroughly good subject.”

By 1561 one of the Thomases had left, and Father Manare's report of the other is less satisfactory in itself, and still affords no clue as to their identification. “Thomas Anglus is in temporals poor, and he only knows how to read and write. He has, however, an aptitude for learning. I fear I shall not get on well with the English [*Anglis*, in plural number] this time.”<sup>1</sup>

All this is rather confusing. We can hardly think that this very backward scholar was Thomas the Second, if, as we have supposed, he had passed some years at the German College before entering, and had been praised as clever by Ignatius. On the other hand, it seems rather hard to suppose that it was Thomas the First, who (if the date be right) had already been five years a Jesuit.<sup>2</sup> However this may be, we here get an intimation that whereas at first the vocations of both had seemed so certain, there was now, in regard to one at least, the beginning of a doubt. This, as we shall see, agrees with the sequel, which was not long delayed.

Neither lived many years in the Society. One (but we are not told which) was sent to Ingoldstadt for his theology in 1562, and Father Braunsberger says that he has found his name in an ancient catalogue of the year 1567, in this form, “Father Thomas Anglus, having been sent away from the Society, is now a Franciscan.”<sup>3</sup>

About the same time the other Thomas died of consumption at Billom, in France. Père Guido Roillet wrote thus about him to Father Laynez at Rome, December 29, 1566:

This is to inform you that we have to-day buried an English scholastic called Thomaso Inglese. He has been with us about a year, and he always bore himself rather as an angel than as a man. Never have I seen one of our Brothers more patient and peaceful than he.

<sup>1</sup> Father Southwell, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> If the date be right, the simplest hypothesis is to suppose that this Thomas had been tried for a long time in menial employments, as was done not unfrequently in those days.

<sup>3</sup> Otto Braunsberger, *B.P. Canisii Epistulae et Acta*, iii. 495.

He studied rhetoric, and made good progress, but his constitution was feeble, and the doctor declared he could not live long. Pray commend his soul to the prayers of our Fathers and Brothers.

This Thomas, less advanced in his studies than the other, who had commenced theology in 1562, is, I take it, Thomas Lith the first English Jesuit; but as the reader will now see, neither in life or in death can we keep his identity clear and distinct from that of Thomas Christmas, the second Englishman who joined the Order.

J. H. P.

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*Reviews.*

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**I.—THE GREEK OF THE SEPTUAGINT.<sup>1</sup>**

THE long introduction which opens this book<sup>2</sup> is a masterpiece of method, and corresponds exactly to the programme judiciously outlined by Dr. Richard Meister in the pages of the *Wiener Studien*.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Thackeray begins by asking himself "Is it possible to write a grammar of the Septuagint?" He knows well that

we are still far from the period when we shall have for the Septuagint a text analogous to the New Testament of Westcott and Hort . . . Is it, then, premature to attempt to write a grammar, where the text is so doubtful? Must the grammarian wait till the textual critic has completed his task?

Mr. Thackeray rightly recognizes that "no final grammar of the Septuagint can be written at present." But he is equally right in asserting that "the grammarian cannot wait for the final verdict of textual criticism. Grammar and criticism must proceed concurrently, and in some ways the former may contribute towards a solution of the problems which the latter has to face."

One of the most serious difficulties for the grammarian of the Greek Septuagint is to recognize "the fragments of the other versions, Theodotion's in particular, that Origen had duly indicated as insertions by the asterisks which he prefixed,"

<sup>1</sup> A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. By Henry St. John Thackeray, M.A., sometime scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, crown 8vo. cloth. Pp. xx. 326, Price, 8s. net. 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 1—71.

<sup>3</sup> 1907, pp. 228—259.

but which have come down to us "wanting the necessary precautionary signs." The book of Job offers striking examples of these difficulties.

Another difficulty is the grouping of the books.

We have in the Septuagint a miscellaneous collection of Greek writings—some translations, others paraphrases, others of which the Greek is the original language, covering a period of upwards of three centuries, from the Pentateuch, the translation of which, there is no reason to doubt, goes back into the first half of the third century B.C., to the academical essay known as 4 Maccabees . . . which must . . . be placed towards the close of the first century of our era.<sup>1</sup>

It is not enough to make a division into translations and original Greek compositions, but the translations themselves must be divided into certain distinct categories. On this point Mr. Thackeray has as good a right to speak as any one; the excellent studies on the Books of Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which he has given in the pages of the *Journal of Theological Studies*<sup>2</sup> had already shown what interesting results the application of his method could produce.

Mr. Thackeray proceeds to make a general study of the *κοινή*, or common language of the Greek East, viewed as the basis of the Septuagint. For

the Septuagint, considered as a whole, is the most extensive work which we possess written in the vernacular of the *κοινή*, and is therefore of primary importance for a study of later Greek.

It is true that

the Septuagint, being a translation, has naturally a Semitic colouring, but the occurrence in the new-found papyri of many phrases which have hitherto been regarded as purely "Hebraisms" has compelled us to reconsider the extent of that influence.

On this point Mr. Thackeray, like Dr. J. H. Moulton, but perhaps with more reservations, follows the brilliant lead set by Deissmann. Speaking broadly, he thinks that

the extent of Semitic influence on the Greek language appears to have been limited to a small vocabulary of words expressing peculiarly

<sup>1</sup> It is also to this late period that Mr. Thackeray assigns the date of the composition of Baruch III. 9—end; but Hitzig and Schürer fail to produce any critical reasons which would justify such a lowering of the date. Mr. Thackeray is doubtless aware that, quite recently, Mr. Rothstein declared his conviction that, in these chapters as in the preceding, the Greek text represents a Hebrew original (*Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, i. pp. 214, 215). Cf. also Condamin, *Études*, July 5, 1906, pp. 55—63.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. pp. 245, 398, 578; vol. viii. p. 262.

Semitic ideas or institutions. The influence of Semitism on the syntax of the Jewish section of the Greek-speaking world was probably almost as inappreciable as its syntactical influence on the *κοινή* as a whole, an influence which may be rated at zero.

A further distinction must be made between the translators of different epochs.

There are well-marked limits to the literalism of the Pentateuch translators. Seldom do they imitate a Hebrew locution without adopting and accommodating it in some way to the spirit of the Greek language if they fail to find an exact equivalent in the vernacular. On the other hand, the translator of the Kingdom books . . . were prepared to sacrifice style and to introduce a considerable number of phrases for which parallels never probably existed in the *κοινή*, if Greek did not furnish them with a close enough parallel to the Hebrew.

The discussion which is given on pp. 31—55 of some of the chief "Hebraisms" of the Septuagint (in vocabulary, in new meanings and uses of words, in syntax) finely illustrates this contrast between the earlier and later periods.

Finally, in the last section of his excellent Introduction, Mr. Thackeray proposes

to consider how far the uncial MSS. of the LXX., B in particular, can be trusted, in the light of the new evidence afforded by the papyri, in some matters of orthography and accident. Have the MSS. faithfully preserved the spelling and the forms of the autographs, or at least of an age earlier than that in which they were written, or have the scribes in these matters conformed to the practice of their own age? The question has already been raised in the case of the New Testament MSS. by Dr. J. H. Moulton, who points out "there are some suggestive signs that the great uncials, in this respect as in others, are not far away from the autographs."<sup>1</sup> But this conclusion, if established in the case of the New Testament, does not *ipso facto* apply to the LXX.

For the latter no general answer can be given; the several forms in question must be examined apart.

If we sometimes find that all MSS., including B, have been influenced by the later spelling, there are other instances which carry us back to a date not far removed from the autographs, if not to the autographs themselves.

The statistics adduced by Mr. Thackeray for the forms οὐθείς (*μηθείς*) and οὐδεὶς (*μηδεὶς*), τεσσαράκοντα and τεσσεράκοντα, ταμείον and similar forms, ὅς ἄν and ὅς ἐάν, are set forth with great clearness and extreme accuracy, and the possible

<sup>1</sup> Prol. 42.

conclusions indicated with delicate nicety. The phenomena thus minutely analyzed point sometimes to conclusions of considerable interest for the history of manuscript tradition, for example to

the existence at a very early time, if not actually as early as the autographs themselves, of a practice of dividing each book, for clerical purposes, into two nearly equal portions. Probably each book was written on two rolls.

The author then comes to the study of matters strictly grammatical, orthography and phonetics,<sup>1</sup> and accident.<sup>2</sup> There, too, we find the same methodical accuracy, wide information, and close reasoning, with an indication of possible conclusions. The table of noteworthy verbs, and the three indices (I. of Subjects, II. of Greek words and forms, III. of Quotations) will put all students of the Septuagint in a position to use this mass of accurate and well-classified data. In his preface Mr. Thackeray expresses his regret that he is not the first to present a complete grammar of the Septuagint, and that here, too "Germany has led the way." But we must not forget that "most of his book was written before the publication of the German work, and that he has thought it best to work quite independently of Dr. Helbing's book." This is not the place in which to institute an elaborate comparison between the two grammars; nevertheless, after examining them, we cannot help proclaiming the incontestable superiority of the work of our learned countryman.

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## 2.—THE SPIRITUAL CANTICLE OF THE SOUL.<sup>3</sup>

Modern thinkers of a certain school take much interest in mysticism. The religious instinct is strong within them, but what they call the intellectualist arguments appear to their philosophy insufficient to justify its promptings, and they turn towards mysticism as offering a more trustworthy substitute. But theirs is a false mysticism, with which it is useful to compare the true mysticism of Catholic spirituality. In the four treatises of St. John of the Cross, on the *Ascent of Carmel*, the *Dark*

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 71—129.      <sup>2</sup> Pp. 140—258.

<sup>3</sup> *A Spiritual Cantic of the Soul and the Bridegroom Christ. By St. John of the Cross. Translated by David Lewis. With corrections and Introduction by Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. London: Thomas Baker. Pp. xi, 317. Price, 6s. 6d. 1909.*



*Night of the Soul*, the *Spiritual Canticle of the Soul*, and the *Living Flame of Love*, this true mysticism is described and expounded by a Saint who was a true mystic if ever there was one, and has been surpassed by no other in the thoroughness and delicacy of his analysis. Unfortunately, the difficulty of understanding him repels even the most willing readers from his pages, nor can this difficulty, which is inherent in the obscurity of the subject, be entirely removed save for those who have had similar mystical experiences. Still, these treatises were not written exclusively for that select few who, having a higher teacher stand less in need of them. They were written for the guidance and encouragement of a class of souls, which (thank God) is numerous in the Catholic Church, those, namely, who desire to live true spiritual lives, by responding generously to the lights and graces God gives them. These, therefore, may hope to understand, not adequately but sufficiently, these magnificent spiritual classics if only they are prepared to take the pains, to read with the heart as well as the head; at all events if they can be aided by a little preliminary comment, to indicate the general drift of the thought and the purport of the figurative language. And it is here that Father Zimmerman has placed readers of the class referred to under an obligation by the Introductions he prefixes to his re-issue, or rather new edition, of Mr. David Lewis's translation of St. John's four treatises—the third and penultimate volume of which is just out. These Introductions are short, but they suffice to set the reader on the right track, and supply a deficiency which was sadly felt in Mr. David Lewis's previous edition.

The *Ascension of Carmel* and the *Dark Night of the Soul* both dealt with the cleansing of the soul which is pursuing the path to perfect union with God, both that cleansing which is wrought by the soul's own efforts at self-discipline and mortification, and that in which God Himself perfects its endeavour by the trials, interior and exterior, with which He visits it. In the *Spiritual Canticle of the Soul* the chief object is to picture under the Biblical simile of Espousals and Matrimony the blessedness of a soul that has arrived at union with God. Along with this change of subject-matter comes a change of style. "The almost grim sobriety" of style adopted in the two previous treatises gives way to quite an "oriental exuberance" of language and imagery. This contrast is, as one might expect, conspicuous alike in the stanzas, composed during his imprison-

ment at Toledo, which were identical for the first two treatises, but which, for the *Spiritual Canticle of the Soul* are distinct and based on the Canticle of Canticles, and to the commentaries in which the Saint subsequently explained them.

### 3.—ABYSSINIAN MISSIONS.<sup>1</sup>

The eight and ninth volumes of Father Beccari's excellent edition of *Writers on Æthiopia* (Abyssinia), which we have praised more than once before, give us the *Relation of the Travels of the Patriarch Alphonsus Mendez*. The heroic missionary, starting in 1623, took no less than two years of travel before he reached the scene of his future labours, which, however, were not destined to run a felicitous course. For reasons which are fully explained in the documents before us, the Patriarch, in the course of his prolonged labours for the Church of Abyssinia, came into conflict with the Negus, and was thrown into prison at Suakim. Hence he was eventually ransomed, then retired to Goa and died there, after completing the memoirs now printed for the first time. Though far more sinned against than sinning, as Father Beccari shows, it cannot be denied that he at first gave the natives cause for some irritation. He was also unfortunate in falling under the suspicion of the officials of the Propaganda; but, as Father Beccari shows, this was more their fault than his, as they were duped by a now notorious impostor, Zaga Christôs; and were far from magnanimous in retractation after the roguery had been discovered. The volumes are, as the reader may guess, full of human as well as of sacred interest, to say nothing of minute and valuable information about the country. The editing, printing, paper, facsimiles, and indices are all maintained at the high level of the earlier volumes.

### 4.—EXPLORERS IN THE NEW WORLD.<sup>2</sup>

We cannot but regret that Mrs. Mulhall in publishing this volume of sketches should have placed in the forefront a short paper upon "The Predecessors of Columbus,"—a fact which,

<sup>1</sup> *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores occidentales inediti*, curante C. Beccari, S.J. *Expositio Æthiopica Patriarchæ A. Mendez*. Rome: de Luigi. Pp. 409, 545. Price, 50 lire. 1908, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *Explorers in the New World before and after Columbus*. By M. M. Mulhall. With pre-Columbian Maps. London: Longmans. Pp. xiv. 314. Price, 6s. 6d. net. 1909.

taken in conjunction with a rather misleading title-page, is likely to give an erroneous impression of the nature of the whole book. We took it up, we may confess, with considerable interest, thinking that we should find therein the last word upon the much-debated question of pre-Columban discovery. But from this point of view the book is sadly disappointing. With the main question at issue Mrs. Mulhall shows no familiarity. None of the copious recent literature upon the subject is indicated or discussed. Even the learned work of Father Joseph Fischer, S.J., *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America*, which was published in 1902, and translated into English in 1903 by Mr. Basil Soulsby, the Superintendent of the map-department of the British Museum, is not referred to. What Mrs. Mulhall does say upon the subject seems to be based almost entirely on Rafn. She is apparently not aware that the Toscanelli story has been seriously shaken, if not discredited, by Henri Vignaud, and, most curious of all, while inviting special attention in her title-page to the "pre-Columban maps," which have been photographed expressly for the work, she gives no explanation of what these maps show or prove. Whether it is by accident or design that one of the maps (that facing p. 4) is so printed that all the Arabic names are upside down, we are unable to say.

It must be admitted then, regretfully, that Mrs. Mulhall's volume is in no sense a book for the critical and scientific student, whether his interests be geographical or historical. But once that is made clear, we are glad to attest that the bulk of the work supplies pleasant reading of a chatty kind about a number of persons and places, mainly South American, in which the author's kindly tone and religious thought make themselves very agreeably felt. We have something on the Buccaneers, something also about such English sailors as Anson and Cochrane, more about General Beresford at Buenos Ayres, and about O'Higgins, Dictator of Chili, the whole being brought to a close by an interesting and most sympathetic account of the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. If Mrs. Mulhall should republish this book, we would strongly advise her to omit the first chapter. The rest of the volume is agreeable enough, and is in no danger of being mistaken for what it is not.

5.—A MANUAL OF FRANCISCAN HISTORY.<sup>1</sup>

It is with much satisfaction that we welcome this compendium of the History of the Franciscan Order which has been written in German by Father Holzapfel, O.F.M., and translated into Latin by his *confrère*, Father G. Haselbeck. Something of the sort in truth was badly needed, if it were only as a guide and introduction, a sort of telescopic "finder," to the mass of materials accumulated in the vast *Annales Minorum* of Luke Wadding. But the developments of the *cultus* of St. Francis in modern times have enormously increased the difficulties for those who wish to find their way about in this special province, and although we could have wished perhaps that Father Holzapfel had condescended a little more to the requirements of the student of Franciscan origins by giving a somewhat fuller account of the controversies upon the subject which have arisen in late years, still, we are very grateful for what is vouchsafed in the book before us, where a selection of bibliographical references is at any rate suggested in the notes. When a new edition of the work is called for, Father Holzapfel will, perhaps, see his way to add an Appendix upon the primary documents of the early history of the Order. We cannot but believe that such a supplement would be very welcome. Another commendable feature in the work before us is indicated in the statement that this official history aims at truth even more than edification, and consequently makes no attempt to disguise the abuses and corruptions which the Friars Minor have at various times had to deplore in their own body. This is in every way admirable; but we think that the author might have been content with drawing attention to this feature without adding: "In this way the Franciscan Order may claim the honour of being the first religious institute to write its own history in accordance with the present requirements of scientific knowledge." It seems to us that this implies a quite uncalled-for reflection upon such work as that of Fathers Balme and Lelaidier, O.P., or that of Fathers Astrain, Duhr, and Tacchi-Venturi, S.J., not to speak of other writers. But any minor shortcomings can be overlooked in consideration of the useful and well-arranged

<sup>1</sup> *Manuale Historiae Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*. Ab H. Holzapfel, O.F.M. compositum, ac a G. Haselbeck Latine redditum. Freiburg: Herder. Pp. xxiv, 662. Price, 9 marks 50. 1909.

summary which Father Holzapfel has supplied, a summary which comprises not only all the branches of the Order including the Capuchins, Poor Clares, and Tertiaries, but also such special forms of activity as its foreign missions and literary work. There is a fairly good Index and some useful chronological tables.

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## 6.—THE DOCTRINE OF ISLAM.<sup>1</sup>

The interest of a deeper kind which Catholic scholars are now taking in the comparative study of religion and which in this country has led to the publication of the Catholic Truth Society's little series, has in France caused Messrs. Beauchesne to undertake a similar library, on a somewhat larger scale, under the general title of *Études sur l'Histoire des Religions*. So far three volumes only are published, namely Mgr. Le Roy's *Religion des Primitifs*, which we noticed quite recently, *Bouddhisme*, by M. de la Vallée Poussin, to be reviewed next month, and *La Doctrine de l'Islam*, which is now before us. The Baron Carra de Vaux has written several previous works on Mahometanism, and one feels, as one reads him, that he is master of the subject. This is apparent not merely in the ease yet firmness with which he marshals and condenses his facts and defines his outlines, but also in the insight with which he traces the origin and purpose of the rites and doctrines of that religion, and can appreciate the tendencies by which it is now dominated. In short, the subject lives under his handling of it, and with the result that there is not, as there so often is in a condensed manual which endeavours to be accurate, a dull page from cover to cover.

Of the personal history of Mahomet the Baron Carra de Vaux tells us next to nothing in this book. It is because he has treated the subject elsewhere. Still, readers who have not seen his other works would have been thankful for some brief portrayal of the man who, under conditions apparently so unpromising, by the sheer force of his personality could found a religion capable of inspiring so fervent and lasting an enthusiasm. In describing the religion of Islam the author seems to avoid the customary division according to its five Pillars, though he necessarily covers the same ground. In its

<sup>1</sup> *La Doctrine de l'Islam. Par le Baron Carra de Vaux. Paris: Beauchesne et Cie. Pp. iv. 319. Price, 4 fr. 1909.*

dogmas of the divine unity and the future life, the precept to give alms, the problem of free-will, there is a certain affinity between Mahommedanism and Christianity, but these were rather taken over from the pre-existent Christian communities of which its founder knew, and it is the dogmas which prescribe the pilgrimage to Mecca, the holy war against infidels, and polygamy to which we must look for the distinctive spirit of Islam. That there is this difference of spirit in its apostolate of war, and in the condition to which it reduces its women is patent; and it must be remembered that the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is obligatory on each one of the faithful who is able to afford it, is of a very different character from Christian pilgrimages to holy places. Mahomet seems to have elaborated it out of some pre-existing pagan custom which he transformed into a means of preserving a unity of feeling among his followers. But the methods of the pilgrimage, of which the author gives a vivid description, are thoroughly gross and barbarous.

In his concluding chapter he discusses a question which recent events have caused to become both interesting and practical. What is to be the future of Islam? Mahomet sought to attach his new religion to Christianity as its proper sequel, by giving out that he was the Paraclete whose advent Jesus Christ had predicted, but that in him the divine revelation, which in the hands of the prophets had grown by a succession of stages, was at last sealed, and could alter no more. And thus it has remained until now. There have indeed been Mahdis from time to time who, building on the dreams of the millenarians, have claimed that in them the expected triumph of Islam was to be accomplished, and its universal Empire established. But these, which have given rise to so many political revolts, have arisen among the heterodox Mussulmans, the orthodox doctrine of Mahdism deferring the advent of the true Mahdi till the end of time, and thus leaving undisturbed that habit of unchangeableness which till quite recently caused the observers of this strange religion to regard its followers as the captives of a lethargic power which arrested and paralyzed the life of the spirit. At the present moment, however, it seems to be awakening. An *élite* which is numerically impressive, full of talents, well-informed, and ardent for progress, is forming in the different countries, and successfully placing itself at the head of the Mahometan world. To these men, young at least in their thought, the destiny and future of Islam

appear under a new light. Ideas of reform, of transformation, of evolution, are on the point of triumphing in their midst. The antiquated dreams of the millenarians no longer satisfy them; they have ceased to be contented with the passive expectation of a far-off happiness; and confident in their own energy, they are seeking by their efforts and intelligence to lift up Islam, to restore its vigour, to interpret its dogma, to ameliorate its practice, to render the individual lives of its people more happy and more attractive.

It is in view of this recent awakening that the question of the future of Islam becomes so interesting. The Baron Carra de Vaux finishes his book by a discerning estimate of the existing tendencies, their internal strength, and the difficulties they will have to encounter in working themselves out, but he does not see his way to any certain predictions. Still, Pan-Islamism does not appear to him likely to result, seeing that the unity of spirit which pervades Islamism, though so tenacious, is religious not political, and co-exists with deep and conflicting national sentiments. Turkey, by her position and the character of her people, is best adapted to lead, but is much disliked by the Arabian Mahometans, as well as by those who are under the sovereignty of Russia. Then, too, for the present at least, the reforming element touches only just the surface of the populations, and beneath it is a vast mass, ignorant, narrow-minded, and attached to its old ideals and dogmas as much as ever. So that all one can do is to watch with interest the action of these new forces which will certainly exercise an important influence in moulding the future of that vast mass of humanity.

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### Short Notices.

STUDENTS will find a recent volume of Philosophy sent us by the author, Dom Jos. Gretd, O.S.B. (*Elementa Philosophiæ Aristotelico-Thomisticæ: Logica, Philosophia Naturalis*. Freiburg: Herder, 9.23 fr.) brief and clear in its exposition, without burdening itself with what may be called philosophical "modernisms," or the systems of the day. It is, therefore, calculated to meet the requirements of the clerical student who merely wants the Thomistic principles expounded and supported by such deductions as can be stated in simple propositions, to which are added the traditional arguments.

The sixth edition of the well known and much appreciated *Moral Theology* of the late Father Génicot, S.J. (*Theologiæ Moralis Institutiones*,



P. E. Génicot, S.J. Ed. 6a. *quam recognovit J. Salsmans, S.J.* 2 Vols. Brussels. 1909) has been revised and brought down to date by Father Salsmans, S.J., his successor in the Chair of Moral at Louvain. Many changes and additions had already been made in the previous editions of the work, and Father Salsmans' contributions are almost wholly confined to alterations made necessary by recent ecclesiastical legislation. Those changes, however, are neither few nor unimportant. They comprise such different matters as catechizing, frequent Communion, distribution of Holy Communion in private oratories, Mass stipends, confessions on board ship, the form of Extreme Unction when administered in imminent danger of death, the form of betrothal, clandestine marriage, the Roman Congregations, and some other points of hardly less importance. The Moral Théologies written half-a-dozen years ago are misleading guides now on all the subjects just enumerated, and this fact makes the procuring of some more recent text-book imperative on the clergy. They will find Father Salsmans a safe guide to the new legislation. The changes rendered necessary are introduced in their proper place, and stated with clearness and precision. Where the law is clear and certain, the terms used by the legislator, or the decree which settles the point are given. Matters which are still in dispute are described as probable or as more probable. To take just one particular instance of this, we note that Father Salsmans considers it more probable that, since quasi-domicile has been abolished as far as marriage is concerned, bans of marriage are no longer to be proclaimed in places where one or both of the parties have merely a quasi-domicile. With reference also to what has been circulated in a clerical organ, we may perhaps call attention to Father Salsmans' teaching that defect of form prescribed by the decree *Ne temere* cannot be made good afterwards by a *sanatio in radice*.

It is enough for Catholic readers to know that **The Last Days of Papal Rome** (Constable, 12s. 6d. net.), by R. de Cesare, is written by a disbeliever in the Papacy as a divine institution. To look upon the Church as a work of human policy, managed well or ill by ecclesiastics primarily for their own ends and in their own interests, is to start with a misconception which entirely precludes an accurate historical survey. The thing must be seen as it actually is if the description is to be other than imperfect. Hence in the volume before us we find a very one-sided and superficial view of Papal history during the twenty years that preceded the Act of Spoliation. The record, which is without references and makes no pretence to be scholarly, is enlivened by plenty of gossip, much of it rather trivial. Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, the apologist of Garibaldi, furnishes an Introduction to the book, and, of course, praises its "impartiality."

If it is difficult for non-Catholics to write in a trustworthy fashion about the history of the Church, they suffer from a similar difficulty in describing the lives of those whom the Church has canonized. Yet it is astonishing how well some of them succeed; a success due probably to the fact that they do not write unless they sympathize, and sympathy is a great help to understanding. The great women-Saints, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Teresa, seem to exercise a special attraction over non-Catholic minds. The latter, for instance, has recently found an enthusiastic biographer in Helen Hester Colvill (**St. Teresa of Spain**: Methuen, 7s. 6d.), who has brought to her task not only great devotion, but a very thorough knowledge of the literature of her subject. Occasional unqualified statements, as "During the Middle Ages worship had become everywhere almost entirely

ceremonial," betray the old tradition, but in general the author's fairness is most marked: even on the difficult subject of the Inquisition she displays the spirit of a true historian. Her book will do much to spread St. Teresa's influence outside the Church, which is the author's avowed purpose. She wishes the "new woman" to find inspiration in the character of the great Carmelite, who united in such wonderful harmony the ideals of the practical and the contemplative life.

We have received two more volumes of Messrs. Constable's handy little series, *Philosophies and Religions, Ancient and Modern*, viz., **Schopenhauer**, by T. Whittaker, belonging to the first category, and **The Psychological Origin and the Nature of Religion**, by J. H. Leuba, belonging to the second (each 1s.). Regarding the former, it is only of interest, being a philosophy irreconcilable with Christianity, as a specimen of the gropings of the mind that refuses to use the light of revelation. Mr. Whittaker gives a clear objective account of the system, but like most non-Catholic philosophical students, he seems to have no knowledge of Scholasticism. The second volume deals, on the familiar evolutionary hypothesis, with the probable development of the religious idea. This also, which is set forth in a lively and stimulating fashion, has merely an academic interest to the believer, who knows that the various savage cults, supposed to represent man's unaided search after the ideal, are corruptions of the original revelation.

We have little but praise for the idea which is expressed in Mr. Wilmot-Buxton's **Stories from the Old Testament** (Methuen, 1s. 6d.), and for the manner of its expression. He wishes to put before the young a clear and definite account of God's dealings with the human race and the Chosen People without compelling them to read what has no moral significance, or one not intelligible to their years. And he wishes to familiarize them with the idea that the meaning of different parts of the Old Testament cannot be rightly ascertained without strict attention to the literary form in which it is cast. So he selects, and puts in an appropriate explanatory setting, the various striking narratives of the Old Law, arranging them for reading by the abolition of verse-divisions and the other arbitrary interferences with the text that do so much to obscure the sense. We have nothing quite like it for Catholic children, and it is to be wished that we had; always excepting the doubt cast on the historicity of Genesis i.—ix.

That the founder of the modern school of Portuguese poetry should be called Garrett seems rather surprising, but the Viscount de Almeida Garrett, whose drama **Brother Luiz de Sousa** (Elkin Mathews, 3s. net.) has been translated by Edgar Prestage, had an Irish strain in his blood. His life occupied the first half of the nineteenth century, and was absorbed by politics and literature, the politics being of the strenuous kind incidental to foreign invasions and constant revolutions. Of his services to literature we are assured by Mr. Prestage this drama represents the crown. We cannot say that we have found it very exciting; its theme is somewhat like that of Enoch Arden, but the treatment is Ibsen-like in its matter-of-fact-ness. The translation reads well;—"Enter Maria in complete *alienation*" is the only foreign idiom we have noticed. The atmosphere of the tragedy is Catholic, which is more, by all accounts, than can be said for the poet's life.

Father Selley, O.E.S.A., has reprinted, after an interval of nearly thirty years, his useful little treatise on the Sacrament of Penance, both in its theoretical and practical aspect, called **The Penitent Instructed** (Washbourne, 1s.). It is in the form of eight lectures which, if somewhat rhetorical in

style, give a full and clear account of God's merciful institution for the forgiveness of sin.

It is to be wished that Padre Raffaele Ballerini had lived to finish his History of the Pontificate of Pius IX, the first portion of which, in its original Italian, we noticed a few months ago. In that case we should have an easy means of correcting the impression made by such romances as that of Signor de Cesare mentioned above. Padre Ballerini's narrative, which, as we formerly pointed out, was revised by the Pope himself, has now been translated into French—*Les premières pages du Pontificat du Pape Pie IX* (Rome : Bretschneider, 4.50 fr.). It, unfortunately, goes no further than the year 1846.

Father Meschler's *Meditations* have long been known and appreciated both in their original German and in the French translation. We wish them a still wider and warmer welcome in their new English dress—*The Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God : in Meditations* (Herder, 2 vols., 12s.)—given them, from the fourth German original, by an unnamed Benedictine, for there is no better way of knowing the Life of our life than by daily meditation upon it. Under Father Meschler's guidance, every aspect and every incident of that divine life is exhaustively considered, our Lord's doctrine is set forth in all its attractiveness, with consummate Scriptural and theological learning, and its application to our own lives and circumstances explained with persuasive skill. The volumes are well arranged and printed.

The tireless pen of Canon Paul Barbier of Beaugency continues, in *L'Ignorance actuelle en Matière religieuse* (Lethielleux, 60 fr.) the valuable series of *Études Contemporaines*, which we have frequently had occasion to commend. Engrossed in observing what he calls the most vigorous and wide-spread attempt to destroy Christianity since the days of Julian the Apostate, he sets his finger accurately on the sources of the evil, and clearly prescribes the remedy. Anyone inclined to despair of the French Church should read these little books which, whilst fully describing all there is to lament, show also abundant material for continued confidence.

The Bishop of Cremona, whose *New Series of Homilies for the Whole Year* (Benziger, 4 vols, \$5 the set) has just been translated by an episcopal colleague, Bishop Byrne of Nashville, is unduly diffident about the advantage of adding yet another sermon-collection to the numbers already published. We have found his Lordship's homilies, as was to be expected from his great reputation, very simply and attractively written, with a keen eye to the lessons which the Sunday Epistles and Gospels have for the modern world, and a perfect plainness in distinguishing truth from its accretions and distortions. The treatment of the Epistles, so often shirked by the preacher on account of their difficulty, is especially to be commended. The translation is fluent, and the four volumes are handsomely bound and printed.

The *Praelectiones Dogmaticae* (Herder, 7 marks a vol.) of Father Christian Pesch, S.J., which are now being issued in a fourth edition, have long been a favourite text-book of scholastic theology on account of their admirable fulness and clearness of arrangement, and the due regard the author pays to the historical development of doctrine. The first volume (they are not issued in numerical order) which has recently appeared, deals with introductory matter to the study of theology, and contains the treatises, *De Christo legato divino*, *De Ecclesia Christi*, *De locis theologicis*. Modern

heresies, especially those concerning the Church and the nature of Revelation, are fully discussed and refuted.

The new edition of the standard English *Life of Blessed Julie Billiart*, (Sands, 7s. 6d. net) first edited in 1897 by Father Clare, S.J., justly claims to be practically a new biography. Not only has the holy subject of it been declared Blessed in the interval, but much new matter, gathered together for the purpose of the Process, has been made available. The result is that we have a much fuller knowledge, derived from herself and her contemporaries, of the Foundress of Notre Dame. And we know better, also, the circumstances under which she carried through her great work for God. Numerous illustrations have been added, which give, amongst other things, an excellent idea of the wonderful spread of the *Beata's* Foundation. The Arden Press has turned out the book with all its wonted taste.

The outbreak of the French Revolution is often ascribed to the spontaneous uprising of a people, crushed by intolerable tyranny and shown the way to freedom by the "philosophers." M. Gustave Bord in his *Conspiration Révolutionnaire de 1789* effectively destroys this shallow theory by showing from contemporary documents that the destruction of the French monarchy and the Terror were from beginning to end the result of an organized conspiracy in which Freemasonry took a prominent and consistent part. In view of contemporary events in Spain this theory has every antecedent probability, but M. Bord, who is the author of many works on the period, by the use of sources hitherto unedited, seems to us to have put the matter beyond doubt. That other conspiracy, viz.: that of "history" against the truth, is gradually being exposed by careful and candid works like the present.

In *The Passion Play at Brixlegg* (Ave Maria Press, 10 cents.), Mr. C. W. Stoddard gives a description of a performance which, he asserts, resembled "what used to be given in the good old days at Ober-Ammergau, before the players fell a prey to speculators and the vulgar mob of globe-trotters." Brixlegg is in the Austrian Tyrol, and the play, the text of which is the same as that of Ober-Ammergau, is said to be performed every four years. Mr. Stoddard does not tell us why the peasants enact this play, nor, indeed, did a writer in *THE MONTH* (October, 1883) some years ago, who was equally impressed by its pathos and simplicity.

The beautifully-printed third edition of the *De Imitatione Christi* (Herder, 2.40 m.) edited by Hermann Gerlach, is distinguished from others by the text being continuous and only broken by natural paragraphs, and by the fact that appropriate "Considerations" from other writings of à Kempis are added to each chapter.

Padre A. Gerste, S.J., has reprinted from the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques* of 1887-88, his valuable *Notes sur la Médecine et la Botanique des Anciens Mexicains* (Vatican Press). The author candidly admits that he has not been able to bring his treatise thoroughly up-to-date, in view of the many archaeological and historical "sources" since discovered. But he has indicated in his Introduction where more complete information is to be sought, and he has not found it necessary to make any substantial change in what he wrote twenty years ago.

Sir Henry Bellingham, in whom *THE MONTH* recognizes an old and valued contributor, sends us a little brochure entitled *Reflections on Modern Anglicanism*, which sets forth clearly the impressions which that strange religious development makes on an honest and intelligent mind.

We are glad that the Rev. Charles Plater, S.J., has issued in permanent form his striking articles on **Catholic Social Work in Germany** (Sands, 1s. net.), which appeared in the *Dublin Review* this year and last. Catholic conditions in England are of course different in many respects from those in Germany; still there is many a valuable lesson to be learnt by us from our German co-religionists, as the Bishop of Salford points out in his Preface, if we are to rise to the full height of our opportunities, and of these lessons none is more valuable than the power of united and concentrated effort on the part both of clergy and laity. In view of the terrible danger to which the Faith would be exposed by any serious disunion amongst us in these troublous times, every Catholic should read, mark, and inwardly digest the object-lessons collected in this most useful work. In Germany they have learnt, as we must do here, how to discriminate between questions which are merely political and those which involve the principles of religion.

Mr. Edward Hutton's new volume **In Unknown Tuscany** (Methuen, 7s. 6d.), maintains the high level of his other studies on Italy and its people. But it ends infelicitously with a laudatory notice of a crack-brained enthusiast, David Lazzaretti, "The New Messiah." Nevertheless, Mr. Hutton's delight in the thousand and one romances, which attach to so many localities in Italy, is always infectious, and can hardly fail to awaken many sweet memories in the minds of those who have ever fallen under the spell of that bewitching country.

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### BOOKS RECEIVED.

*(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)*

*From the Authors:*

REFLECTIONS ON MODERN ANGLICANISM: By Sir H. Bellingham, Bart. Pp. 8. Price, 1d. 1909. DE SYSTEMATE MORALI AD USUM SCHOLARUM COMPOSITA: By Rev. L. Wouters, C.S.S.R. Pp. 38. Price, 3d. 1909.

*Ave Maria Press, Indiana:*

THE PASSION PLAY AT BRIXLEGG: By C. W. Stoddard. Pp. 23. Price, 10 cents. 1909.

*Benziger Brothers, New York:*

NEW SERIES OF HOMILIES FOR THE WHOLE YEAR: By Bishop Bonomelli of Cremona. Translated by Bishop Byrne of Nashville. 4 vols. Pp. 1,442. Price, \$5.00 net. 1909.

*Bretschneider, Rome:*

LES PREMIERES PAGES DU PONTIFICAT DE PIE IX: By P. R. Ballerini, S.J. Pp. xv, 224. Price, 4.50 fr. 1909.

*Elkin Mathews, London:*

BROTHER LUIZ DE SOUSA: By Almeida Garrett. Translated by Edgar Prestage. Pp. 137. Price, 3s. net. 1909.

*Herder, Freiburg:*

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